

FURTHER
CORRESPONDENCE
OF SAMUEL PEPYS
, 1662-1679

FROM THE FAMILY PAPERS IN THE POSSESSION OF
J PEPYS COCKERELL

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INTRODUCTION

THE manuscript volume from which the letters and papers printed below are taken consists of three folio letter-books bound up together,—the first containing 172 pages, the second 264, and the third 462, making 898 pages in all. The calf binding appears to be of the eighteenth century, and the lettering on the back, "S Pepys' Official Correspondence 1662-1679," must be of a later date than the contents, and since it is scarcely an accurate description of them, later also than Pepys's death.

It is true that a certain number of the letters have an official character, for instance those to the Governors of the Chatham Chest or to the Commissioners of Public Accounts, but many are only semi official, and some are private in the strictest sense of the word. The long series of letters addressed by Pepys to Coventry when he was absent with the fleet in 1665 in attendance upon the Duke of York as his secretary, although they give him an account of what was going on in the Navy Office, are too friendly and intimate in tone to fall into the strictly official category. The correspondence relating to Pepys's candidatures for Parliament,—first for Aldeburgh in 1669, in which he was not successful, secondly for Castle Rising in 1673, when he was elected, and finally for Harwich in 1679, when Portsmouth also was competing for his services,—can scarcely be regarded as more than semi-official, even in the days when the Government concerned itself with elections, and the candidate, backed by the influence of the Duke of York, is to be found commenting on the drawbacks of "Court dependence" (pp 338, 346). A good many of the letters, especially those belonging to the later years of the period, are frankly private and personal. Those to his father and his sister Paulina deal with family matters

The "relics of Apollo's statue at Delphos" (pp 285, 291), the acquisition of "one of Gamboust's maps of Paris" (p 280); and the replacing of "what the Fire robbed me of, namely, of all the heads of persons of quality cut by Nanteuil" (p 280), belong to Pepys's activities as a collector. The letters to Sir John Banks's son about his travels abroad in 1677 under the tutorship of John Locke the philosopher (pp 305, 318, 320-4) which anticipate those to his nephew John Jackson in similar circumstances at the end of the century,¹ are the outcome of private friendship. In fact, the test for determining whether letters should be entered in this book would appear to be their secrecy rather than their official character. Those communications which for any reason seemed unsuitable for passing through the ordinary routine of the Navy Office or the Admiralty would be entered in a book that was kept under Pepys's private eye and was not accessible to the whole of the office staff. This treatment would be applied indiscriminately to official papers such as his reflections upon the incompetence of Sir John Mennes the Comptroller (*e g* pp 199-202 239), or the agonised appeals of the Navy Board to the Duke of York for money (*e g* pp 132-6, 137-40), to his unofficial opinions upon official questions delivered without reserve to Coventry his friend, and to private letters of friendship which he wished to preserve. "My letter-book," referred to in the *Diary*, is evidently the manuscript now under consideration while "my journal letter book," mentioned on p 54 below, is one of the routine letter books of the Navy Office to which he was unwilling to commit his secrets.

Special interest attaches to the letters and papers contained in the earlier part of this volume, because of their close relation to the *Diary* and the way in which they supplement it by giving fuller information about various matters mentioned there. This is brought out by the relevant passages from the *Diary* printed at the head of each, and need not be further emphasised here. It should however, be noticed that at two points the letters correct its text. The letter to Coventry of January 8 1664, printed on p 10 below, makes it clear that

¹ See *Private Correspondence of Samuel Pepys 1670-1703*

"Department Treasurers" in the *Diary* for the same date should read "Deputy Treasurers", and the letter to Sir William Penn of October 19, 1666 (p 143), shews that "rum and bread" in the *Diary* is a wrong transcription for "broom and reed"

In the earlier stages of their friendship Pepys took immense pains to impress Coventry with his efficiency, and to this we owe the elaborate dissertations on the treatment and measurement of masts (pp 15-19, 20-5), and the "little volume of observation" bearing upon "the purser's trade" (p 88) which he eventually digested into the discourse of January 1, 1666, offered to his correspondent "as a New Year's gift" (pp 93-111) This last was supplemented on April 21, in "a large letter about the business of the pursers" addressed to Sir William Batten, the Surveyor of the Navy (pp 126-30) But although he thus played up to Coventry, Pepys was perfectly capable of criticising him He has some shrewd observations to make upon an ingenious but impracticable plan for obtaining loans from those merchants to whom the King already owed money (pp 70-2), and he deals faithfully with Coventry's optimistic "project" of 1667 for reducing the charge of the Navy in time of peace to 200,000*l* a year (pp 213-9, 226-30)

Among the letters and papers of historical importance are those dealing with the appalling situation created during the Dutch War of 1665-7 by the want of money for the Navy On November 3, 1664, before war had been declared, Pepys reported to Coventry that "tar rises mightily in the town" (p 28), on April 15, 1665, he is "finding our credit every day lessen, and prices thereby to rise upon us" (p 41), and by May 25 "it is come already that people under their hands have said, 'Pay me for what you have had, and I'll trust you further'" (p 45) By July 8 "no man will sell without a promise of ready money" (p 48), and on December 2 Pepys writes to Commissioner Pett "It is now 2 months within 2 days since this Office hath felt one farthing of money for any service, great or small" (p 82) A financial statement of February 19, 1666, shews that only 1,498,483*l* was available to meet expenses estimated at 2,312,876*l* (pp 120-1), and a

further sum of 462,768*l* for charges for the year 1666 not included in this estimate brought the total deficit up to what was then an enormous sum,—1,277,161*l* (p 125) Letters from the Navy Board to the Duke of York give particulars of the high prices asked by the merchants, who were obliged to protect themselves in this way against uncertainty of payment (pp 133, 138–40, 148, 168), and after the war was over, the shortage of funds continued to produce the same effects. An investigation into the prices of stores made by Thomas Hayter in 1668¹ (pp 208–13) shews that if ready money had been available, “from 50*l* to above one hundred pounds, and in some cases two or three hundred pounds,” might be saved in every hundred pounds “of what the King doth now and hath heretofore given” (p 207), the goods to be bought from the merchants for cash being “no way inferior in quality, but in some particulars twenty in the hundred better than what are commonly served into the King’s stores” (p 213). In other ways also “this lack of money hath diffused itself by its ill effects through every part of the naval service” (p 147). The workmen were observed “daily to spend their dinner times walking like ghosts in the yard at Harwich for want of knowing whither to go to find credit for food” (p 150), and “several labourers and carpenters dead for want of diet and nourishment” (p 171). “One yesterday came to me,” wrote the Commissioner at Harwich (p 172), “crying to get something to relieve him. I ordered him 10*s*. He went and got hot drink and something to help him, and so drank it, and died within two hours.” On March 31, 1667, the Navy Board wrote “We have not credit left us for procuring lead for covering of a furnace, but have been forced to melt our very weights to answer that occasion with” (p 168), and a little later they quoted a letter from the Commissioner at Portsmouth “I have pulled down one chimney to fit the ship’s furnaces and hearth, pray let me know by your next whether I shall pull down the chimney in the yard or the brick wall, for it is better that the chimney and wall be all down than that the ships should be continued here for want of money

¹ Cf also the table of prices on p 59

have been due to the fact of his being aware that the King and Duke already designed the post for Sir Thomas Allin (pp 240, 241)

In his correspondence with Coventry Pepys sets his own devotion to duty high "I can safely say," he wrote on May 20, 1665 (p 45), "that were or could the imperfections of this Office in the dispatch of ships, etc., be greater than they are or had the hire of my labour been 10,000*l* per annum, I could not be possessed of a more hearty intentness in the early and late pursuance of my duty herein than I have been hitherto and would you have it demonstrated, take it then in your own merry mathematics I have heard no music but on Sundays these 6 months" But his conduct during the Plague fully justifies his claim On August 5, 1665, when the sickness was growing "mightily upon us," he threw out the suggestion which was afterwards acted upon, that the Navy Office should be transferred to Greenwich, but he added that the removal of his own "particular papers and business" was 'impracticable, and so do purpose myself to trust God Almighty and stay in town' (p 49), and on August 25 he penned his gallant sentence to Coventry "You, Sir, took your turn at the sword, I must not therefore grudge to take mine at the pestilence" (p 53) In this volume Pepys also appears in as favourable a light in respect of his family relations He enquires solicitously about his father's health and promises him some wine (p 305), he discusses a provision for the children of his sister, Paulina Jackson (pp 305 308-9), he takes over his brother John's debt to the Trinity House (pp 313, 317), and he looks after the promotion of his brother in law, Balthazar St Michel, in the service (pp 130-1, 137), accommodating a quarrel with his commanding officer (pp 311-5), and submerging him under a flood of good advice (pp 271 281) A letter of July 16, 1677, to the second Earl of Sandwich shews that Pepys extended to the son the same delicate loyalty with which he had served the father to whom he owed the foundation of his own fortunes (p 200)

Pepys refers more than once to his trouble with his eyesight

(pp 207, 238, 239, 245, 291), and we have the text of his petition of May 19, 1669, to the Duke of York asking for leave to travel abroad on that account (p 237), with a subsequent reference to its tragic sequel, the death of his wife (p 261). Only a few of the distinguished friends of his later life make brief appearances,—John Evelyn, with whom he corresponded in 1666 about his scheme for an infirmary at Chatham for sick and wounded seamen (p 117), Sir William Petty (p 276) and the launch of his "double boat" on December 22, 1664 (p 34), Sir Robert Southwell the diplomatist, who receives a letter the tone of which implies an intimate friendship (p 304), and Mr James Houblon the merchant, who is charged with the duty of converting Cesare Morelli, the musician whom Pepys had befriended, from the errors of the Church of Rome (pp 326-7). It is to Houblon that one of Pepys's rare epigrams is addressed "If faith be the evidence of things not seen, infidelity must be a non discerning of things visible" (p 318). The famous shipbuilder Sir Anthony Deane comes in for "some reprimands and good advice" (pp 122-3, 131-2, 145-6, 154). In connexion with Deane it is interesting to observe that when he shewed the originality and independence of the great inventive genius that he was, Pepys adopted towards him the authentic tone of the official, although the rebuke was carefully and considerately phrased "There happens a particular," he writes on May 2, 1670 (p 264), "which, though I believe in itself it signifies but little, yet in the noise which some people are disposed to raise upon it, seems to be designed to do you a greater prejudice than is fit for me to permit without giving you notice of it. It is that you have of your own head, without precedent, as well as without the advice, or so much as the privity, of this Board or the Commissioner upon the place, presumed to lay aside the old secure practice of fastening your beams in your new ships with standards and knees, and in the room thereof taken upon you to do it with iron." Although the French had used iron knees since the time of Colbert, the earliest English use has been assigned to the East India Company's ships built at the time of the American Revolution, and they were

January 26, 1676, we find him waiving for the benefit of a merchant the fee to which he was entitled in respect of the grant of a pass (p 290) These abstinences are the more creditable, as his own salary was sometimes long overdue (pp 183, 195)

Among minor episodes of interest are Pepys's connexion with Christ's Hospital (pp 286, 317, 326), the almost incredible conduct of a commander towards his master, who was said to have been "treated with a continual contempt, sometimes beaten, kicked, dragged by the hair, put in irons, confined to his cabin 13 days together with a guard over him," and made the victim of "other such violences" (p 37), the fire at Portsmouth dockyard, resulting in the incineration of the clerk of the cheque's wife, "a very debauched, drunken woman" (p 38), and the acceptable ministrations of a layman as a chaplain on board ship (p 82) A letter of November 17, 1676 (pp 293-5) completes the story, already partly told in *Smith's Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys*, of the trouble in which Mr Daniel Skinner the younger found himself when he arranged with Elzevir to print Milton's works, and so incurred a suspicion of entertaining republican opinions which was sufficient to blast his career for the time being Bagwell the carpenter, the victim of one of the most discreditable of Pepys's amours, also makes brief appearances upon the stage (pp 91, 157)

The correspondence closes under the sinister shadow of the Popish Plot Pepys's candidature for Aldeburgh in 1669 had recalled to life the charge of his being a Papist (p 257), and when he was elected for Harwich ten years later, his opponents did "all they could to revive all my old charge of being a Papist, and the new one of having a hand in the late Plot" (p 341) His colleague Sir Anthony Deane was also accused of being an atheist, but Pepys indignantly repudiated both calumnies "He has too much wit to be an Atheist," he wrote on March 6, 1679 (pp 350-1), "it being the fool only that Solomon [it was David] tells us says in his heart, There is no God And as for my being a Papist, let them examine but the entries in our Parliament books and they shall

find such a trial and proof of my Protestancy as I doubt no private man in England can shew but myself upon record in Parliament" But the clouds had begun to gather round him as early as October 1678 On October 31 he wrote to his friend James Houblon "I should be mighty glad of an opportunity of an hour's chat with you upon the common subject of our present griefs and fears, as a matter that calls no less now for the deliberations of all good men than it appears to have been for a long time the meditation of bad

If you will find room for so much charity as to meet me at the Court to be held at Christ's Hospital to morrow in the evening, we will from thence step, and talk and grieve together" (p 326) On December 5, in a letter to his sister (pp 328-9), Pepys refers to the proceedings against his clerk, Samuel Atkins, in connexion with the murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, "which (though most untrue) cannot be thought to pass in the world at so jealous a time as this without some reflections upon me as his master, and on that score does occasion me not a little disquiet

In the mean time, pray desire my Father to give no way to any fears concerning me, for that I bless God I have lived so carefully in the discharge of my duty to the King my master and the laws I live under, both towards God and towards men, that I have not one unjust deed or thought to answer for, and consequently neither am myself, nor would pray him to be, under the least doubt or care what can befall me, it being of no use to any man in my place to think of supporting himself by any other means that has such an innocence as mine to rely on, and there, I bless God, lies my comfort, whatever befall me" The volume ends on a note of despair "I protest to you," writes Pepys to Sir John Holmes on April 18, 1679, "the case of the Navy through want of money is on every hand grown so heavy, and out of all hopes (within my view) of any speedy remedy, and (which is worse) the ill effects of that want in all the consequences thereof imputed to us in Parliament, whose lives have been little better than a constant state of persecution upon the score of our complaints and solicitations for money out of Parliament, that were the

encouragements of my employment ten-fold what they are or what the world takes them to be, they should not invite me to hold it one year, more upon the terms I have now done it for several, unless his Majesty's express commands require it from me, which with bread and water shall render every thing sufferable to me, but without that, nothing" (p 358) Three days after this letter was written, the Admiralty Commission of 1673 was replaced by its uncongenial successor, and on May 21 Pepys resigned office. The next day the fallen Secretary was committed to the Tower on the Speaker's warrant.

In making the selection printed in this volume, it has been necessary to omit a good many letters of a routine character, but the editor thinks he may claim that everything of historical or biographical importance has been included. As the spelling in the MS is not that of the original letters, but represents only the vagaries of confidential copying-clerks, it has not been thought necessary to follow it except in the case of proper names, when it is often interesting. For instance, the town of *Aldeburgh* (which also appears as Alboroug, Alborough, Albrough, Alborough, Aldborough, and Aldburgh) can claim for the current spelling early authority at least as good as that which has been quoted in support of the *Aldborough* of the eighteenth century and the earlier half of the nineteenth, for both forms are to be found side by side in a letter of August 21, 1669 (p 260).

ALDEBURGH,

October 24, 1928

ERRATA

P 126, lines 11 and 12 from top, for "*Diary*, 21 April, 1665," read "*Diary*, 21 April, 1666 "

P 273 For note 3 read "Lord Howard had been created Earl of Norwich and hereditary Earl Marshal of England in October 1672 (see Evelyn's *Diary* for September 26) In December 1677 he succeeded to the Dukedom of Norfolk His reply to this letter, dated August 15, 1673, is printed in Smith, *Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys*, 1 140, but the signature, 'Norwich, Earl Marshal,' has been wrongly deciphered as 'Norfolk, Earl Marshal,' by the editor, who also heads the letter 'The Duke of Norfolk to Pepys ' "

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE OF SAMUEL PEPYS 1662-1679

I [MS p 17] SIR WILLIAM BATTEN AND S P TO SIR
WILLIAM PENN

[Sir G Carteret comes, and he and I walked in the garden, and among other discourse tells me that it is Mr Coventry that is to come to us as a Commissioner of the Navy, at which he is much vexed, and cries out upon Sir W Pen and threatens him highly And looking upon his lodgings which are now enlarging, he in passion cried, "Guarda mi spada, for by God I may chance to keep him in Ireland when he is there" for Sir W Pen is going thither with my Lord Lieutenant (*Diary*, 8 May, 1662)

Sir W Pen came to my office to take his leave of me, and desiring a turn in the garden, did commit the care of his building to me I did, God forgive me! promise him all my service and love though the rogue knows he deserves none from me, nor do I intend to show him any (*ib*, 9 July, 1662)]

12 August, 1662

We are both exceeding glad to hear of your safe arrival at Dublin, wishing you such success and dispatch in your affairs there as may give us hopes of your speedy return The chief occasion of our writing thus jointly to you is to assure you of our willingness and study to have your mind satisfied as to your lodgings, wherein our great fear is of not succeeding as we could wish, forasmuch as great enquiry hath lately been made into a[1] our expenses in building,¹ and notice taken of our estimates

¹ Batten and Pepys had been allowed to add a storey to their houses in the Navy Office (*Diary*, 30 June, 1662), and on 2 May 1663 Pepys went "up to Sir W Pen to drink a glass of bad syder in his new far low dining-room, which is very noble"

I did set upon an enquiry from the year 1630 to the beginning of the late troubles, and in (I dare say) about 100 pay books we turned over we found not one commander paid otherwise than by the express number of days she entered into and ended sea victuals and wages (rigging time being as expressly denied them), and for your more particular conviction can quote you all the pays made by Sir G C, Sir J M, Sir R S, Sir W B, and Sir W P¹ (however they happen to forget it) in proof hereof The Dutch War I find began it, and that but upon conditions, beyond which to indulge them certainly were to make a bad precedent worse, by making the captain's advantage in neglecting his ship's dispatch certain which before was contingent Besides which, there are other conveniences I have upon discourse met with, not removable by your late dating their commissions All which, however, I propose but as a learner

4 [MS p 48] ILL CONSEQUENCES OF THE WANT OF AUTHORITY
IN THE PRINCIPAL OFFICERS AND COMMISSIONERS OF THE
NAVY TO ACT AS JUSTICES OF THE PEACE²

n d

At public pays (frequently held at the Treasurer's Office in London and within the town of Portsmouth) breaches of the peace are often occasioned by the unruliness of seamen, either

1—Upon their being paid less than they expected, though (respect being had to their want of ability and diligence) the establishment settled by authority will allow them no more

2—Or upon our denying to make stops of the seaman's wages at the requests of every creditor (which in no cases but on the

¹ Sir George Carteret, Sir John Mennes, Sir Robert Slyngesbie, Sir William Batten, and Sir William Penn

² From the order in which this paper is entered in the MS, the date must be c 9 March, 1662-3. By an Act of 1664 (16 Car II c 5) the Navy Board, or any two of them, were invested with the powers of justices for certain purposes (see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS*, i 185ff) Batten and Pepys had been appointed justices for Middlesex, Kent Essex and Southampton the counties in which the principal dockyards were situated as early as September 1660 with which honour I did find myself mightily pleased though I am wholly ignorant in the duty of a justice of peace (*Diary* 24 September, 1660)

King's behalf have we any authority to do) though they are commonly no other than hucksters and hostesses who are the common bane of the King's service, not only by debauching seamen from their duties while ships lie in harbour but imposing upon their necessities, making them pay about $\frac{1}{2}$ in $\frac{1}{2}$ more than the just value of all they buy. In which two cases we are subjected to the public reproaches and scandalous clamours of the persons concerned, not only to the lessing of the honour and respect which ought to be preserved towards persons in our trusts but the whole pay obstructed (for want of other remedy) till they give us leave to proceed

3—Upon pursers overcharging seamen with clothes on their books

4—Or upon private debts formerly contracted among themselves, which are generally evened or quarrelled about at the pay-table.

5—Upon officers or others claiming right to another's wages as his servant by covenant (no indenture appearing). In all which cases and many more, great disorders and riots are committed in the face of the Principal Officers, and that with more confidence than elsewhere knowing that we have not authority in that place to punish them for the same.

Besides these inconveniences attending public pays, we have very often discoveries made of his Majesty's goods embezzled and information given us at our usual meetings in his Majesty's Office in Seething Lane, London, where if the defendant be found guilty, we are neither able to commit him, nor if (as it sometimes happens) the information appear to have been made either out of spleen or in hopes of the reward provided by law in such cases, are we secured from the disgraceful calumnies of the disappointed plaintiff. Moreover, if either in the examining of such embezzlements or of pursers', boatswains', carpenters' or purveyors' accounts whose ships are bound out to sea (and at such times discoveries are usually made) the taking of an oath be necessary, we are forced, for want of authority to do it ourselves either to suspend our proceedings till the return of the ship (which is a great injury to his Majesty) or cause the ship and his Majesty's service to

wait the making of this oath before a Master in Chancery, which requires time, and when done, by his being unacquainted with the circumstances necessary to be enquired into in such cases, we are very seldom instructed sufficiently what to determine therein

It is considerable ¹ also that there happening one or more of these occasions at most meetings, it would be burdensome to one of the City Justices, as well as delaying to the King's service and in other respects inconvenient, to be forced to demand their assistance constantly

5 [MS p 74] S P TO MR COVENTRY, at South[amp]ton

[At the Office all the morning making up our last half year's account to my Lord Treasurer, which comes to £160,000 or thereabouts, the proper expense of this half year (*Diary* 8 September, 1663)]

Up betimes and by water to White Hall, and thence to Sir Philip Warwick, and there had half an hour's private discourse with him, and did give him some good satisfaction in our Navy matters, and he also me, as to the money paid and due to the Navy, so as he makes me assured by particulars that Sir G Carteret ² is paid within £80,000 every farthing that we to this day, nay, to Michaelmas Day next, have demanded, and that I am sure, is above £50,000 more than truly our expenses have been, whatever is become of the money (*Diary*, 12 September, 1663)]

12 September, 1663

Though perhaps faults of misreckonings would not first fall upon me, yet I should be infinitely disturbed at his Royal Highness's dissatisfaction and yours, were I not conscious with what difficulty I prevented the passing of a report prepared and agreed on by the Treasurer and Comptroller wherein this half year's expense was raised to £277,000,³ nor could at last get it allowed me that it was our concernment to bring it down (as near as we could) to the very truth, but that the contrary was more advisable. However, by the help of some notes I had provided I did obtain the bringing it to this

¹ I.e. to be considered

² The Treasurer of the Navy

³ Pepys here exhibits himself to Coventry as the courageous critic of swollen estimates and gives the 'true expense' of the half year as £136,000 [MS p 75] but neither this figure nor the £277,000 here given agrees with the statement in the *Diary* quoted above

(not but that I then feared and since know we have something overdone)

* * * * *

6 [MS p 84] S P TO SIR GEORGE CARTERET ¹

[I to my office and put on my new shagg purple gowne with gold buttons and loop lace I being a little fearful of taking cold and of pain coming upon me Here I staid making an end of a troublesome letter, but to my advantage against Sir W Batten giving Sir G Carteret an account of our late great contract with Sir W Warren for masts wherein I am sure I did the King 4000 service (*Diary* 13 November 1663)]

Up and to the office where we sat, and after we had almost done Sir W Batten ² desired to have the room cleared, and there he did acquaint the Board how he was obliged to answer to something lately said which did reflect upon the Comptroller and him So after my business done I home I having staid till 12 o'clock at night almost, making an end of a letter to Sir G Carteret about the late contract for masts, wherein I have done myself right, and no wrong to Sir W Batten (ib 14 November, 1663)]

Navy Office 14 November, 1663

The occasion of this morning's dispute at the Board was not more unwelcome to us all than your frequent mention of Sir William Warren's masts was particularly to me, for that I fear your dissatisfaction in that contract yet remains to my prejudice The truth is I blame myself for not giving you long since the account you demanded relating thereunto But such is my unaptness to encourage any occasion of discontent that notwithstanding that contract hath received so high a censure, and the compassing of it charged as a particular practice of mine (and that not only in the Office but in other places, where I am concerned to have my actions better understood) yet I have chosen rather to expect the issue of all this than be thought to design reproach to another more than right to myself by seeking justification in a matter little needing any But since I find you still dissatisfied and being doubtful how my silence may be interpreted I have made it my afternoon's work to state the whole matter to you and thus it is

¹ This letter is copied in Pepys's own hand

² Batten had already inveighed against the contract for Warren's masts (*Diary* 21 September 1663) and in a letter to Coventry dated 22 September Pepys writes Sir W Batten I hear hath in my absence reproached me most passionately about that bargain (MS p 76)

His Royal Highness's especial command and the known emptiness of the stores put the Board in August last upon looking out for a good provision of masts, and myself (by my particular duty) to become solicitous therein, well knowing that almost all the masts in the River were in one man's hand, and that the slipping of a fortnight or 3 weeks time would (by putting us out of a capacity of being supplied from abroad this year) leave us at the mercy of him from whom for these 6 months we have been forced to furnish ourselves at prices unfit to be mentioned

The only persons found upon enquiry ready to treat with us herein were Sir William Warren and Mr Wood, who by directions of the Board brought us at the same time their several tenders, drawn (as we enjoined and they both declared) at the lowest prices they resolved to supply us at Mr Wood's offer being of masts already here and Sir William Warren's of masts to be imported, viz, part this year, the rest the beginning of next spring

Their proposals being lodged in my hands, I set myself to enquire how it would be most advisable to proceed in this matter, and having not only consulted the Exchange, surveyed with good assistants the masts offered by Mr Wood, informed myself from Commissioner Pett and Mr Tippetts touching the quantity and sorts wanted at Chatham and Portsmouth, but moreover by the mediation of a third person (approved of by the Board) obtained private advice touching some material circumstances respecting each of these merchant tenders, I did at last propose to the Board that of Sir W Warren as the more advantageous to his Majesty for these reasons —

1 Sir W Warren's price is 5 per cent in the Gottenburg and 7 per cent in the Norway masts cheaper than Mr Wood's, which in a bargain of about 2600*l* is considerable

2 Mr Wood's Gottenburg masts being all in the River, and the third part of the whole at least being intended for Portsmouth, the charge of their freight thither arises to above 30 per cent, which by Sir William Warren's delivery of them there

at the same price with them here is wholly saved, and by that means the King gains above 220*l*

3 Those of Mr Wood's are well known to have lain wet and dry this year or two, the best of them having been from time to time picked out, whereas Sir William Warren's will come unculled and fresh Which, considering that we buy not for present spending only but for a year or two's store, is more than 10 per cent difference to the King Which will be the better understood when I shall tell you that Mr Wood having lately contracted with us for two masts for the Duke's pleasure boat, his whole parcel could not furnish us with such as the mast-maker durst for their sap-rottenness venture on, but was forced to have help from Sir William Warren in supplying us

4 Hereby (if his Majesty's occasions should need them) there will be so many more masts imported than otherwise we should have by buying those already here, and (which to me is no small circumstance) we encourage another merchant in that trade, which Mr Wood (by his engrossing for some years the credit of this Office) hath brought almost into his own hand, and by that means hath for a good while been able to set and command his own price

5 In buying Sir William Warren's we are at a liberty of setting our own number to every sort of masts, as his Majesty's occasions most require Whereas Mr Wood obligeth us to take his as they are, great or small, without any such respect

6 We shall by this means in a little time become master of Mr Wood's at the same or lower rates, which is already come to pass

7 To the foregoing considerations offered to the Board, I must confess I had another of as much force with me as any of the rest (though then foreborne), namely, that what Sir W Warren serves in probably will be good, for to this day I do not remember that the best of his provision ever escaped the Surveyor's reproach¹ but on the contrary, what we have from Mr Wood may possibly be bad, it being as much out of my memory that the worst of his were ever found fault with

¹ The Surveyor was Sir William Batten

The Board (*viz*, yourself, the Comptroller, and Sir William Penn, all then in town besides myself) were so far satisfied with what had been thus proposed as to desire Sir William Warren's presence the next sitting (September 10) for concluding a contract,¹ which was accordingly done

Mr Coventry's concurrence I had received from Portsmouth, Sir William Batten's (he being also out of town) I must confess I had not, but cannot imagine why he who before his going had signified his approbation of Wood's, should (the arguments considered) have his satisfaction doubted with Warren's terms

Two objections notwithstanding I hear were made by him at his return to the prejudice of this contract —

First, that we have over-clogged the stores To which 'tis answered, that the number of Norway masts agreed for is no greater, and that of the Gottenburg much less, than the very number which himself had consented to, and is now so much concerned for our not having bought them of Wood

The second is, that Sir W Warren is left at a liberty what number of each sort of masts he will bring, by which the stores (says he) may be clogged with many of the small ones and be still unfurnished of the greater To this we answer,

1 We have obliged him expressly to a proportionable quantity of each sort, of which proportion we are left judge, and so have the force of the fifth reason made good to us

2 Little candour and less experience is exercised in raising this objection, since the merchant's profit lies wholly in the great masts For proof whereof, he hath and doth offer to serve the King with what quantity of great ones alone we please at the same price he now sells the great and small together

3 Sir William Warren's numbers, proposed to us under his hand and which he hath accordingly provided, are of the

¹ "Up betimes and to my office and there sat all the morning making a great contract with Sir W Warren for £3000 worth of masts but good God! to see what a man might do were I a knave, the whole business from beginning to end being done by me out of the office, and signed to by them upon the once reading of it to them without the least care or consultation either of quality, price number or need of them, only in general that it was good to have a store' (*Diary*, 10 September 1663)

greatest masts five times as many, of the next sort twice and of the smallest little above half so many as those offered by Mr Wood and approved of by Sir W. Batten a particular whereof I have here added viz

	Hands	Wood	Warren
Masts of	22	2	10 or 12
	21	6	12
	20	6	14
	19	15	15
	18	12	16
	17	14	20
	16	46	30
	15	63	33

Sir this I affirm in every circumstance to be the true statement of that contract which I leave with you without drawing my unpleasing inferences from it or bespeaking your favour in the least measure beyond what my want of experience only may at any time call for. And for the difficulties of this kind I now and then meet with tis satisfaction enough that the difference is so legible in our books (to the King's advantage) between the contracts heretofore made without trouble and those of later date made with it

7 [MS p 90] S P 10 Mr COVENTRY ¹

[And so I again to my office to perfect a letter to Mr Coventry about Deputy Treasurers - wherein I please myself and hope to give him content and do the King service therein. So having done I homeward to teach my wife a new lesson in the globes, and to supper and to bed (Diary, 8 January, 1663-4)]

Navv Office 8 January, 1663-4

In order to the preparing some directions for the more regular proceeding of those who may hereafter have the dispensing of moneys abroad, I have lately looked up such broken

¹ *MS p 90* is in Pepys's own hand. 'His answer to me hereon bears date January 15, 1663-4, which is among my letters.' The greater part of this letter is copied in Pepys's hand.

² Wheatley's edition of the *Diary* reads 'Department Treasurers' but this must be wrong.

notes as from time to time I have taken upon the examination of foreign accounts, which without any care of sorting them (a tenderness I seldom exercise with you) are here put down just as they rise, and may perhaps prove hints to you at least of something useful

1 Nothing is more familiar than to have boatswains, carpenters, and gunners come home and (as far as the Surveyor can or they will charge themselves) have their accounts passed and wages paid before any advice of their foreign supplies is given us

Query Why should not they (besides the Deputy Treasurer's being obliged to send us due and speedy advertisement of all supplies for which he issues moneys) give a security as the pursers do, and (like them) make oath to the truth and fullness of their charges? it often happening, (especially in admirals' ships, where the boats[wain], etc, frequently stand charged with the whole supply afterwards distributed to the rest of the fleet) that the extra[ordinary] charge of a boatswain amounts to much more than his salary makes good in some years

2 Supplies of all sorts seem to be made upon no other argument or evidence than the demands of the boatswain, carpenter, etc, who by this means is enabled at any time to furnish himself with money by exchange of money's worth

Query Whether, (though his Royal Highness's instructions be very ample to commanders in this case) it would not be of some use that the commander and master should sign to the necessity of each demand before it be supplied or paid for?

3 Little care have I ever found taken, either by commanders, Deputy Treasurers, or other, to control, or so much as (for what appears to me) know or enquire after, the prices set by merchants for those goods for which in gross they sign to bills of exchange Upon which score it is that the King's cooks endeavour the issuing their tallow abroad, receiving double the rate allowed therein by us here But

(as an eminent instance of the truth of this note) we have often met with bills for provisions paid, the particulars whereof have been wrote in foreign languages which the accountants have (upon demand) confessed themselves utterly ignorant in

4 Commanders-in-chief seem to expect our being concluded by their hands and warrants in the presents and gratuities they give, and sometimes in their paying moneys upon accounts said to have been examined and cancelled by themselves, without referring the particulars to our perusal, much less approbation

5 Private captains have taken a liberty of making or pretending (?) the making of presents to persons on shore upon careening of ships abroad or other such like ordinary occasions, for which nevertheless (besides perhaps the unnecessary cost of some things done) no advantage appears made to the King in the rates given either for the labour or materials spent in the doing

6 The King hath no right left him against insolvent persons (not standing officers) who having either received money or provisions abroad shall (themselves being paid first off here) be found debtors or accountable to the King afterwards at the return of the Deputy Treasurer

7 I have met with several occasions for such a query as this, namely, whether in the passing a commander's accounts abroad it be probable that, upon the discovery of any light exorbitancy, a commander in chief (I speak now where their disparity is not great) will by controlling it adventure the discontenting a fellow-commander, to the rendering the whole voyage uncomfortable to them both, and that where (if such a jealousy may be whispered) he wants not the temptation of gaining credit to his own expenses by giving way to greater of another's?

8 Moneys are many times paid upon the demandant's bare assertion of so much disbursed, without any receipt produced under the hand of him to whom it was paid From whence it may so happen that upon producing such a receipt a while after (when the particulars of a mixed account are out of our heads) a second allowance may be obtained by another person

for the same service I remember one instance of our narrow escape from a cheat of the kind

9 'Tis necessary that the distinct number and quantity of each store supplied be expressed by the commander or officer that receive them, for want of which we are often at a loss how to charge the persons accountable for the same otherwise than in gross

10 Bills of exchange have been often drawn upon us from abroad by Deputy Treasurers to the value of certain sums sterling for pieces of 8 taken up by them, without mentioning the number or price at which they were so taken, whereby through the difference in exchange and our ignorance of the rate current at the time of drawing those bills, we are rendered unable (at the accountant's coming home) to judge of the good or bad husbandry used by them in that particular, but, on the contrary, are forced to admit of what prices they please to put upon them

11 Lastly, I have sometimes thought upon the quality of Deputy Treasurers in general with respect to their being for the most part either secretaries or otherwise related to or brought in by the admiral Which hath administered to me these considerations

(1) That secretaries cannot be at liberty (by going on shore) to enquire the prices of commodities, beside that they seldom have been either merchants enough to carry any knowledge therein, or seamen to judge of their expense

(2) That being both secretaries and Deputy Treasurers, they can with the less difficulty take the opportunity of procuring the admiral's warrant for payments which (by the medium of a 3rd person secretary) might meet with further enquiry and debate

(3) That standing in that relation to the admiral, they have not the fitting liberty of arguing the fitness or unfitness of any allowances which (were not his subordinacy accompanied with so absolute a dependence upon the admiral) he would for his own justification desire And

here it is they plead obedience to order, not any judgment of their own, in all cases disputable

(4) That being thus nominated and under the protection no less than command of the admiral, the admiral becomes a party in the justification of the Deputy Treasurer's accounts, and by consequence the Principal Officers and Commissioners lose part of the freedom requisite in their examination, while every scruple (though reasonably raised) may be apprehended reflective on the admiral Which I find well avoided in the Argier voyage, 1618, where the admiral and Deputy Treasurer brought in distinct accounts relating to their respective disbursements, and 'twas found then of good use in checking one another in matters interfering

8 [MS p 96] S P TO [COMMISSIONER PETT]¹

[Then homewards and met Mr Barrow,² so back with him to the Miter and sat talking about his business of his discontent in the yard, wherein sometimes he was very foolish and pettish, till 12 at night, and so went away (*Diary*, 12 February, 1663-4)

At noon to the Change a little and thence brought Mr Barrow to dinner with me where I had a haunch of venison roasted given me yesterday, and so had a pretty dinner, full of discourse of his business, wherein the poor man is mightily troubled, and I pity him in it but hope to get him some ease (ib, 16 February, 1663-4)]

16 February, 1663[-4]

In answer to that one clause in your last letter touching Mr Barrow, I do assure you I judge him a most well-meaning man, and one whose aptitude to a little peevishness I am so far from accounting any ill circumstance in him, that even in that very respect I should prefer him before another of less mettle that might be frightened or flattered to a breach of his trust To this I consider his being now better able to perform his place than either himself was two years since, or another is that probably upon his removal would succeed him Nor am I alone in this opinion of his integrity and usefulness (besides yourself), Mr Coventry owns the like, and in order to his

¹ Peter Pett, Commissioner of the Navy at Chatham

² Philip Barrow, storekeeper at Chatham

preserving him in the Navy hath cast about with some solicitousness how to render his present place contentful to him, and by his advice I have spent some time in reasoning with Mr Barrow about it, who besides his complaint of so hard dealing from some of the Board (which I doubt is not easily to be mended and therefore must be borne with) declares that unless he may have one instrument more at 2s or 2s 2d per diem to serve him as a clerk, and an addition of one or 2 more in the nature of labourers to attend wholly the stores, he cannot safely to himself or honestly for the King undertake the charging himself with all the stores under his hand, or balancing of them, but with such an addition of help will at least do his endeavour to the utmost to do what is to be done in that business. Now I tell you I look upon performing the work of the storekeeper well to be worth 10 times such an increase of instruments, and have told Mr Coventry so too, who concurs in the granting him it rather than either not have the thing done or lose his endeavour in the doing it ¹

9 [MS p 97] S P TO [MR COVENTRY]

[Thence to the Change, my chief business being to enquire about the manner of other countries keeping of their masts wet or dry, and got good advice about it and so home, and alone ate a bad, cold dinner, my people being at their washing all day, and so to the office and all the afternoon upon my letter to Mr Coventry about keeping of masts, and ended it very well at night and wrote it fair over (*Diary*, 22 February, 1663-4)]

Navy Office, Shrove Tuesday [23 February], 1663-4

I told you the other day that for the preventing an over hasty choice, either of the more chargeable course of making a wet dock or the more doubtful one of building a dry house for the lodging of our masts in, I had been looking out for what advice, either by conference with Warren, Wood, and Taylor (the ablest merchants and makers of masts in

¹ Mr Barrow was not ungrateful. 'This day I have a great barrel of oysters given me by Mr Barrow, as big as 16 of others, and I took it in the coach with me to Mrs Turner's and gave them to her' (*Diary* 16 March 1663-4). The recipient was Mrs Jane Turner, the wife of Serjeant John Turner, she was a daughter of John Pepys of Ashstead.

town) or others acquainted with foreign practice, my little leisure would suffer What I have learned be pleased to take in the loose manner it occurred, and from the whole infer what you think fit

1 That (letting alone the physical *quomodo*) undeniedly that piece of timber, and that part of that piece, corrupts first which suffers the greatest diversity of wet and drouth

2 That neither oak, elm, nor fir (nor perhaps any other) timber preserved continually under water hath in any man's memory been found impaired either in strength or quantity thereby

3 That in the East Country (whence the wainscots come), to render those woods the more merchantable they familiarly lay them in water, till by long lying (the longer the better) the sappy part comes to be as good in substance and colour as the heart

4 That a mast (sappy when first felled) will by lying in the water so far improve that the sappy outside will become as firm wood as the rest of the body For which they appeal to old piles drawn up at the repairs of sluices, bridges, etc., be they fir or oak And further, the mast-maker's practice every day teaches us that a mast which by constant floating begins to perish on the upper part will, by being turned upside down, recover itself in a great degree in the part so perishing

5 That the Dutch do preserve all their great masts by sinking them, their small ones, because of their ready consumption in piles, they are not so solicitous for, but keep them floating The Kings of Denmark and Sweden do the like at Copenhagen and Stockholme At Dantzicke conveniences are made on purpose for sinking of masts, none being brought on shore but what they convert to deals It is true at Venice they are hauled off into their Arsenal (which the Great Duke also doth at Piza), but not out of choice (as appears by the Venetians sinking all their oak timber a good while before they use it, for the giving it a hardness) but necessity, for the securing the sweeter wood of masts from the worm, whereto in these seas it is very obnoxious

6 That (in every man's dealing) fir timber which hath

lain dry a year is reckoned 5 per cent worse than when fresh, and sold with that difference in the common market

7 That as far as ordinary occasions (such as scaffolding, etc) can instruct us, spars and barks grow dangerously frow¹ and brittle by dry keeping, and that it is no addition of strength which increaseth the price of dry deals but (besides the charge of house room) their becoming weather-proof and (a note of weakness rather) easier for the tool, while being kept wet they obtain a firmness harder to be wrought on, and in oak (our planks tell us) almost to that of iron

8 That the hands necessary for hauling masts from place to place and lifting them up and down to and from their posts (as it is propounded in the housing of them) will not only be very chargeable but endanger their shaking (if not splitting) by falls or, by meeting with stones or aught else that is sharp, hazard their being galled an inch or two deep into their bodies (evils it seems most usual)

9 That besides the charge of 500^l at least for the building of a house capable for the receipt of 60 or 66 masts, the lodging them in this manner will render them uneasy for search or removal, and being laid contiguous, or resting on beams, they will (especially if any accidental wet arrive) be apt in the places where they touch to heat and rot, which makes the merchant so careful to lay sticks or something else between their spruce deals, etc, and the sapper they be (as masts generally are) the more in danger of this evil

10 The fitting of the wet dock (as is proposed) at Chatham for receipt of 66 masts will arise to little less than 1000^l, besides the charge of keeping it in repair, the quays often giving way through the floatiness of the masts

11 That if a way can be found to keep them under water half or the greater part of a tide, it will be as well, or very insensibly worse, for our purpose than to have them continually so For proof whereof 'tis observable

(1) That so much of the puncheons and fenders of all wharves as is covered by the tide of flood (though at low

¹ I e frail

water they are not so) never rot, but only that upper part which being beslabbered by the spray of the sea, becomes often wet and dry

(2) That masts which floating one part of the tide lie wholly dry the other (as generally all the masts in the River waiting a market do) are never found to decay within that space which occupies the water in time of floating, but remain there for ever fresh, their upper sides only perishing which by the beating of the water is liable to a frequent wetting and drying

(3) That even in our own mast-dock at Chatham we see that when for the taking out a mast we open the gates at the beginning of a neap tide the rest of the masts lie dry till the next spring fills the dock again, and yet no prejudice observed to follow

12 That this may be done at a very small charge by fastening a beam over two old pinnaces (sold usually at the candle, for want of other use for them, at 15s or 20s apiece) and filling them with ballast to such a weight as may sink what masts shall be laid under them Three pinnaces thus filled being judged sufficient to keep down 10 or 12 of the biggest New England masts we have By which means (besides saving the charge both of house and dock, with the danger and expense of difficult and frequent removals)

(1) We may place these boats out of the way in any by-creek and sink them at our pleasures (by loading them with more or less ballast) either so as to keep them always at the bottom or at the tide of flood to swim just at the rim of the water, enabling us thereby without the trouble and charge of opening and caulking up again any of the dock gates, to come at what mast we please at any time of the tide

(2) Whereas New England masts by their floatiness requiring three times as much weight to force them down do very often make the quays give way, while Gottenburgh trees (the best character of the best timber) being less floaty are more easily sunk, we may fill the wet dock

at Chatham with the largest Gottenboroughs (of which it will receive a much greater number than of New England) and keep the latter in the manner here proposed

13 Lastly, that for what smaller masts, either through want of boats or as being of more ordinary use, we would keep floating, the paying their upper sides with soft stuff will, at 10s or 15s charge per mast, secure them a year or more without injury

[To the copy of this letter the following is added in
Pepys's own hand]

Memorandum That I borrowed my information (towards this letter) from Sir William Warren, Sir William Rider, Mr Wood, Captain Taylor, Alderman Barker, Mr Harrington, and other Eastland merchants, from officers of Chatham about the wet-dock there, and the estimates made of the house proposed at Deptford and the new dock at Chatham

Moreover, Sir William Warren gives it as a certain maxim that that timber which is most floaty is worst, and the contrary, what sinks most the best By which also he reckons the difference between New England and Gottenb[urg] masts, the first be most floaty, insomuch that he offers a wager, that a Gottenb[urg] mast of 18 hands shall bear as much weight without breaking as a New Englander of 24 hands, viz, a fourth part of strength difference

He further advises that as in all timber so especially in masts care be taken to bespeak them so early as the merchant may have time to cut them seasonably, (*id est*) the sap being down, the contrary weakening the timber exceedingly and rendering it less serviceable, as appears by Mr Deering's late parcel of deals cut unseasonably, and by the daily observation that the sappy part begins to rot first and the sappier the sooner

Lastly, it is observable that (the sap never reascending in the same place it last went down in but in a sphere further distant from the heart), the better the wood is (as Gottenb[urg] above New England) the thinner is each coat or course of sap and each year's increase of timber

10 [MS p 100] S P TO MR COVENTRY

[Up, and my cold continuing in great extremity I could not go out to church but sat all day (a little time at dinner excepted) in my closet at the office till night, drawing up a second letter to Mr Coventry about the measure of masts, to my great satisfaction (*Diary* 6 March, 1663-4)]

I ended and sent away my letter to Mr Coventry (having first read it and had the opinion of Sir W Warren in the case), and so home to supper and to bed (16, 7 March 1663-4)]

Navy Office, 7 March, 1663[-4]

From the ambiguous and different answers I received from his Majesty's officers touching their method in measuring New England masts, resolving into this (if any) proposition, viz, that their number of inches diameter is to be answered by a like number of yards in length, I have been led to endeavour an explicit understanding of the matter, and so found further exercise of your favour in reading and excusing what follows

1 As the burthen and build of each ship respecting her ability to bear more or less sail precedes in consideration to the apportioning the length of her masts, so the consideration of their length and the strength of body requisite for the support thereof precedes to the apportioning their diameters So that the largeness of the diameter (though by use made the director of the price) renders not the tree more valuable to the buyer otherwise than as it is necessary or not to the support of its length But on the contrary, an excessive diameter imposeth on him either a necessity of over pressing his vessel with an unnecessary weight of wood, or an unprofitable charge of hewing it off in chips, or, lastly, a more costly increasing the length of the mast by cheeks, while an excess in length is much cheaper corrected by one cut of a saw, what falls off remaining convertible to other use

2 Now in our enquiry after this proportion, it is first considerable that the navigation of Europe hath till very lately been supplied with this provision of masts from Sweden only and Norway, where such is found to be the natural strength of the fir-tree as most rarely to give way to any storm of wind, though growing generally on places mountainous, and to a height greater by near a half than their length they are exported at in masts So that it is with regard to the weight of

these by being brought into a regular figure are measured by their diameters. This I conceive to be indeed the reason of their different methods of measurement and by this means the rule provided for setting out the dimensions of Sweedes' trees becomes not so applicable to them of New England.

6 Here our officers are at a loss what, and the merchant (to defend the shortness of his goods) saith there is no, established rule for the measurement of New England masts. But I cannot find that there goeth any more to the solving this seeming difficulty than to reduce truly the diameter of any mast (so to be measured) into hands in circumference, and then by comparing it with the length given see how it answers or disagrees with the general rule for other masts. For example, a New England mast 22 yards long, having for its diameter 22 inches, the circumference of this diameter (by the proportion of 7 to 22) is 69 inches, which being divided by 4 inches, 17 hands $\frac{1}{2}$. Now the proper circumference of a mast 22 yards long being (by the general rule) but 16 hands, I find that this mast is one hand too much in circumference for that length, and consequently to be valued in the price but as a tree of 16 hands.

7 It hath been insinuated, I know that New England masts coming hither wrought, their diameters should bear a greater proportion to their lengths than Gottenb[urg]. But the contrary I think is most demonstrable. For if the proportion established in Gottenburgers be good, though in their working they are [in] general taken down 2 or 3 inches in their diameters, the same proportion in diameter must needs be large enough in New Englands, which abate not so much in their working, viz, about an inch, and consequently have an inch, and sometimes above, reserved in their diameters more than in those of Gottenb[urg], and that to the prejudice of the buyer (as in the first paragraph is said), unless perhaps he be contented to let it go with an inch more timber about it (which is generally a ¹ part of the tree) than its due, to make amends for the difference in strength between the woods of New England and Sweden.

¹ A blank in the MS

Yards long	Hands in circumference	Sir Wm Warren's prices of Gottenburg masts measured by hands in circumference	Inches diameter equal to yards in length	Mr Wood's prices of New England masts measured by inches diameter equal to yards in length.	Inches true diameter.	Mr Wood's prices of New England masts measured by inches diameter in true proportion to their lengths
38	32		38		40 $\frac{1}{11}$	
37	31		37		39 $\frac{1}{11}$	
36	30		36		38 $\frac{1}{11}$	
35	29		35	120 00 00	36 $\frac{1}{11}$	
34	28		34	105 00 00	35 $\frac{1}{11}$	
33	27		33	100 00 00	34 $\frac{1}{11}$	105 00 00
32	26		32	86 00 00	33 $\frac{1}{11}$	100 00 00
31	25		31	78 00 00	31 $\frac{2}{11}$	82 00 00
30	24		30	68 00 00	30 $\frac{1}{11}$	73 00 00
29	23		29	60 00 00	29 $\frac{2}{11}$	60 00 00
28	22	036 00 00	28	50 00 00	28	50 00 00
27	21	028 00 00	27	42 00 00	26 $\frac{1}{11}$	40 00 00
26	20	024 00 00	26	38 00 00	25 $\frac{1}{11}$	32 00 00
25	19	017 15 00	25	32 00 00	24 $\frac{1}{11}$	26 00 00
24	18	015 00 00	24	26 00 00	22 $\frac{1}{11}$	19 00 00
23	17	010 00 00	23	20 00 00	21 $\frac{1}{11}$	17 00 00
22	16	008 00 00	22	18 00 00	20 $\frac{1}{11}$	
21	15	007 00 00	21	16 00 00	19 $\frac{1}{11}$	
20	14				17 $\frac{1}{11}$	
19	13				16 $\frac{1}{11}$	
18	12				15 $\frac{1}{11}$	
17	11				14	
16	10				12 $\frac{1}{11}$	
15	9				11 $\frac{1}{11}$	
14	8				10 $\frac{1}{11}$	
13	7				8 $\frac{1}{11}$	
12	6				7 $\frac{1}{11}$	

Where (for example) you may observe that a mast of 38 yards long requires a diameter of more than 38 inches, viz., 40 inches $\frac{1}{11}$, and so still, by less and less differences, the inches diameter exceed the yards in length down to 28 yards, where the true diameter is just 28 inches. But then from thence downward the difference widens again the yards in length exceeding the inches diameter, so as a mast 21 yards long requires but 19 inches $\frac{1}{11}$, and a mast 12 yards long but 7 inches $\frac{1}{11}$ for their true diameter. So that for as many of the merchant masts now under dispute as exceed 28 yards in

length we were indeed in the wrong to their prejudice, as well as (on the contrary) for those beneath that length to our own

Secondly, you may see how for want of an earlier comparing of this different manner of ameasurement, we pay 50*l* for a New England tree of 28 inches diameter answering in dimensions to a Gottenb[urg] tree of 22 hands for which we pay but 36*l*. And for another New England tree 23 yards long and 23 inches diameter we pay 20*l* (nay, according to its true diameter of 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches, 17*l*), which answering to a Gottenb[urg] tree of 17 hands we pay but 10*l* for. Yet further, for that very Gottenb[urg] tree which we pay but 7*l* for, the merchant, for 15*s* or 20*s* cost bestowed in working of it and by that means bringing it under the ameasurement of New England, expects 16*l*. I have cast what this error hath cost us since the coming in of the King, but 'tis better unmentioned, it sufficing that we now see that the 3rd-rate ships and downwards may be masted from Gottenb[urg] at above a 4th part cheaper in the price and (if the judgment of very able timber merchants may be credited) with little less advantage in the quality of the wood, and therefore a matter (at least to me it seems) most advisable that we come to a speedy agreement with some or other for a round number of the larger Gottenboroughs as high (if we can) as 24 or 25 hands, which upon time given for their looking out I am told may be had

11 [MS p 108] S P TO [MR COVENTRY¹]

[By water to Woolwich and Mr Hater¹ and I with some officers of the yard on board to see several ships how ready they are So to Deptford, did some business there but Lord I to see how in both places the King's business, if ever it should come to a warr is likely to be done, there not being a man that looks or speaks like a man that will take pains or use any forecast to serve the King, at which I am heartily troubled (*Diary*, 23 May, 1664)]

[23 May, 1664]

After the receipt of his Highness's warrant about the 30 ships this morning and drawing out orders pursuant thereto,

¹ Thomas Hayter was Pepys's clerk. In 1673 he succeeded Pepys as Clerk of the Acts acting jointly with his brother John Pepys. In 1679 he again succeeded him as Secretary of the Admiralty, and in 1680 he was for a short time Comptroller of the Navy.

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

Yards long	Hands in circumference	Sir Wm Warren's prices of Gottenburg masts measured by hands in circumference	Inches diameter equal to yards in length	Mr Wood's prices of New England masts measured by inches diameter equal to yards in length	Inches true diameter	Mr Nevins's measurements of true diameter
38	32					
37	31					
36	30					
35	29					
34	28					
33	27					
32	26					
31	25					
30	24					
29	23					
28	22	036 00				
27	21	028 00				
26	20	024 00				
25	19	017 15				
24	18	015 00				
23	17	010 00				
22	16	008 00				
21	15	007 00				
20	14					
19	13					
18	12					
17	11					
16	10					
15	9					
14	8					
13	7					
12	6					

...ally w... works back, ...
 ...ers, the first of which may possibly be
 ...edy nomination of commanders and masters
 ...er it, the latter I doubt by nothing else but
 ...you will find must speedily be thought on, and
 ...or our use here but Sir William Penn writes
 ...send him 40 caulkers his matters will be set

036 00
 028 00 Not one man yet appears at Deptford and
 024 00 ...re entrance into the service, towards which
 017 15 ... I am very apprehensive nothing hath
 015 00 ...s I am very apprehensive nothing hath
 010 00 ...han the late ill usage they have had from
 008 00 ...g turned ashore in the Downs after 2 or
 007 00 ...tis in rigging time upon expectation of

TO COMMISSIONER PETT

16 July, 1664

tified with your agreement with the
 Where (for example) you rot for the blocks above 20 inches
 long requires a diameter locks, I find it one of the thousand
 inches $\frac{1}{11}$, and so still, by it we suffer to go on without once
 diameter exceed the yards 1 day Mr Shish at Deptford ¹ (who is
 the true diameter is just 2 $\frac{1}{11}$ on that sort of provision) did affirm
 downward the difference w¹ured any, but that to the best of
 exceeding the inches diameter to be measured by their inches
 requires but 19 inches $\frac{1}{11}$, an contrary the blockmaker there
 inches $\frac{1}{11}$ for their true diameter, but was allowed for them
 merchant masts now under ...wright at Deptford

by their inches in length, and that Mr Shish hath ever signed to his bills in that manner Which way is the true one I know not, but see that to be sure the King payeth by that that is dearest I wish you would be pleased to inform yourself what is the right and usual course in this matter, that we may be at a certainty

13 [MS p 110] S P TO THE EARL OF SANDWICH ¹

[Sir G Carteret tells me this afternoon that the Dutch are not yet read to set out, and by that means do lose a good wind which would carry them out and keep us in, and moreover he says that they begin to boggle in the business, and he thinks may offer terms of peace for all this, and seems to argue that it will be well for the King too, and I pray God send it (*Diary*, 19 September, 1664)]

20 September, 1664

The wind continuing for some days N E, has hindered our Guinny ships from falling down, which (had the Dutch fleet been ready) might have been of sound advantage to them, but they are not nor like to be (as 'tis said) in some days 'Tis discoursed also as if they were now less keen upon 't than they were, and talk of new treaties, nay, wagers I heard offered this day upon the 'Change that no Dutch fleet shall attempt to pass the Channel this 3 weeks (meaning towards Guinny), the ground of which presumption I understand not, but do wish (as well prepared as we would have our ships and stores thought to be) that a tolerable offer of accommodation from the Dutch be the worst news we hear of these 12 months

* * * * *

14 [MS p 111] S P TO [THE EARL OF SANDWICH]

[Up with Sir J Minnes by coach to St James's, and there all the newes now of very hot preparations for the Dutch Talke also of great haste in the getting out another fleet and building some ships and now it is likely we have put one another by each other's dalliance past a retreat (*Diary*, 3 October 1664)]

4 October, 1664

The business now grows very hot between the Dutch and us We are commanded to fit, man, and victual the enclosed

¹ This letter is copied in Pepys's own hand, the last part being in shorthand

list with all dispatch, and his Royal Highness did declare to us yesterday his resolution of going forth himself, and his choice of the *Royal James* for his ship and Sir William Penn for his commander. This night the Prince¹ takes leave of the Court for the Hope. It is determined that the Prince shall carry the flag of union only, and not that, the King or his Royal Highness being on board.

Swiftsure	Newcastle	Assistance	H[appy] Returne
Mountagu	Charles	Diamond	Sorlings
Ioncke	R[oyal] James	Adventure	
Lyon	Henry	Ruby	
Mary	Trumpion	Dunkirke	

15 [MS p 114]. S. P. TO MR COVENTRY

3 November, 1664.

... Tar rises mightily in the town, and besides what we have we are to expect but 200 lasts or thereabouts from Sir William Rider and Mr Cutler. Would to God Sir George Carteret could by ready money enable us to tempt merchants to sell, which I perceive every body now desire to avoid at any price almost, in confidence of gaining by keeping their goods in their hands.

16 [MS p 116]. S. P. TO MR COVENTRY, at Portsmouth

[Up and with Sir J. Manners and Sir W. Batten to the Council Chamber at White Hall to the Committee of the Lords for the Navy² where we were made to wait an hour or two before called in. By and by we were called in where a great many Lords³ attended, in the chair. But Lord to see what work they will make us and what trouble we shall have to inform men in a business they are to begin to know when the grant of our money is a thing to be lamented and I fear the consequence will be bad to us. (Diary 11 November 1664)]

12 November, 1664.

* * * * *

... We did yesterday, attend the Lords Commissioners, who seem resolved to sit close to the Navy business for they

¹ During his lifetime "the Prince" is always Prince Rupert his Royal Highness is James, Duke of York.

² A Committee of the Council.

³ Arthur Annesley had been created Baron Annesley in 1641 and also at the same time Earl of Annesley so Pepys here calls him out of his name.

against Monday morning next have commanded us to bring them the names of all his Majesty's ships in service, their stations, the time for which at this day each ship is victualled, and an account of all the ships in the River, with their names, burthen, and force, which are able to carry demiculverins in their lower tier, and besides all this, a state of his Majesty's stores in all the yards. They enquired of us our opinion touching the 2 commissioners intended for Portsmouth and Harwich, to which Sir John M[ennes] answered he was a stranger to them both. Sir W B[atten], saying nothing of Colonel Middleton,¹ represented Taylor for such a fanatic as put them all to a sudden rejecting his name and recommending it to us to name another. I told them that I believed the naming of him was with a single respect to the ability of the man, not only in his art (which his Majesty was well informed) but the report given of his dispatch in his place the last Dutch War.² It was answered, others as able that were loyal might be found out to supply the place. Sir W B since hath asked me who we might name, and whether it were not necessary he should be a shipwright that should go to that place. I told him I would not have to do with the altering of the choice already made, but let their Lordships do as they see fit. And thus that business stands. Somebody I suppose he will propound, but I hope I shall find some fair way of suspending the choice till you are advised of it.

To our general hurry of business, and the waiting 3 times a week (personally or by written reports) upon the Lords Commissioners (which I am sure cannot be afforded without neglecting the main), my Lord Treasurer hath sent the enclosed report, which will ask a great deal of care and time, I think.

¹ Colonel Thomas Middleton was appointed resident Commissioner of the Navy at Portsmouth in November, although the date of his patent is 3 January 1664-1665 (see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS* i 15n).

² Captain John Taylor eventually received the appointment of resident Commissioner at Harwich. Coventry appears to have agreed with Pepys about him, for he wrote, "Certain it is that his abilities are great and his dispatch hath heretofore been eminent," and he adds "As to his being a fanatic, I have nothing to say for or against it, but I believe you will have need of all hands to the work now cut out and I think there is as little danger of them in harbour as at sea if not less, and I believe profit will convert the greatest part of them." (*SP Dom*, Car II, civ 104).

17 [MS p 119] S P TO MR COVENTRY [at Portsmouth]

[Thence to the Attorney-General's about a new warrant for Captain Taylor, which I shall carry for him to be Commissioner in spite of Sir W Batten, and yet indeed it is not I but the ability of the man (*Diary*, 21 November, 1664)]

15 November, [1664]

* * * * *

I am apt to think in the business of Taylor both your suggestions had their place, for as to what respects yourself, I know the objector had time and opportunity enough to have informed you in the thing objected before it had gone so far, for Sir John Mennes¹ did tell him and me together that Taylor had been proposed to the Duke before him, Sir W[illiam] P[enn], and Sir John Lawson for Harwich. As to the other part, Sir William Rider I find is of late very busy hereabouts, and did attend the Lords yesterday morning about it, in whose favour I have since found Sir W[illiam] B[atten] discourse and the Vice Chamberlain² very forward. How it will be ordered I know not, but I do verily think Taylor, with all his faults, were the fitter man of the two, at least at this time, if a merchant at any time be fit to make a Navy Officer of

Since your mentioning Captain Lambert³ for Harwich, it comes in my mind that I think verily he had been a fitter man than all yet named to have been employed here in the River, for want whereof I can't express the loss the service is at, for not to mince the matter, we are utterly incapable, as matters are yet looked after, of giving any better account of the yards near us than of those farther off, which pray consider, for this very point to me is one of the most perplexing I know of

There is one thing I shall take the liberty to remind you of, that you would please to have in your eye the recording of what shall pass worthiest remark in this great affair, and that your clerks may be directed to preserve papers of any occurrences therein, that if God send leisure and a good issue, matter may be in store for a history thereof

¹ MS Mennce

² Sir George Carteret

³ Two Captain Lamberts are referred to in the *Diary* David and James they are confused in the index to Wheatley's edition

⁴ As Secretary to the Duke of York. Coventry would be in an exceptionally favourable position for collecting materials for the history of the war with the Dutch which was about to break out.

18 [MS p 127] SIR JOHN MENNES, SIR WILLIAM BATTEN
AND S P TO SIR GEORGE CARTERET ¹

[Sir G Carteret, upon a motion of Sir W Batten's, did promise, if we would write a letter to him, to shew it to the King on our behalf touching our desire of being Commissioners of the Prize Office I wrote a letter to my mind (Diary, 22 November, 1664)]

22 November, 1664

Being doubtful lest by our silence we might lose the favour we humbly hope for from his Majesty in reference to our having a relation, among others, to the Prize Office now erecting, we do by this entreat your kindness in making a seasonable mention of us to his Majesty, with these considerations on our behalfs, That not only our work will by the war be necessarily advanced many degrees above what it usually is, and that without any visible increase of encouragement, but moreover as Officers of the Navy we must be frequently consulted with by them of the Prize Office, and therein also be of necessary use to his Majesty by informing them in the values and qualities of prizes taken, and advising them what thereof (as cordage, anchors, iron, canvas, pitch, tar, and others) are necessary to be preserved for his Majesty's stores, as also what ships happening to fall into our hand may be fit for his Majesty's service Hence it was (as well as from the favour of the then powers) that Cranley, Norris, and Tweedy (who served the Parliament in the places we do now his Majesty ²) were joined to the Prize Officers And as we are sure we serve a most gracious Master, so in all humility we do no less hope to be found by his Majesty as constant and faithful in our particular charges of Comptroller, Surveyor, and Clerk of the Acts as any our predecessors

We ask once more your kind mediation herein,³ and rest, etc

¹ Treasurer of the Navy

² During the earlier years of the Civil War the Navy Commissioners were Richard Cranley, John Norris Roger Tweedy William Batten, and Phineas Pett (*Oppenheim* p 288) The MS reads 'Morris' and 'Twede'

³ A subsequent entry in the *Diary* (12 December, 1664) suggests a reason why the application was not successful 'Mr Coventry privately did tell me the reason of his advice against our pretences to the Prize Office because he knew that the King and the Duke had resolved to put in some Parliament men that have deserved well, and that would needs be obliged by putting them in'

19 [MS p 141] S P TO MR COVENTRY

[. Comes Cutler to tell us that the King of France hath forbid any canvass to be carried out of his kingdom, and I to examine went with him to the East India House to see a letter, but came too late (*Diary*, 12 December, 1664)]

12 December, 1664

This afternoon Mr Cutler¹ hath been with me to tell me (as a secret) that the King of France hath interdicted the export of any more canvas. Whether this be true or a forerunner of a tender, I know not. I have of late discoursed with Sir Wm Rider² or 3 times (and with his partners) about next year's supply of hemp, and find them all ready enough to be re-employed in it. But I gather that Cocke hath been too nimble for them. In their former dealings, so as Rider and Cutler resolves to stand quite out, or be at liberty to serve alone or name their partner. How Sir George³ will take it in behalf of Cocke I know not, but do see they will venture an offence there rather than meddle with Cocke³. I desired to know who they would propose, Cutler tells me, Alderman Backwell³. The change (by all I can at present think of it) should be ne'er a whit the worse for us.

20 [MS p 142] S P TO THE EARL OF SANDWICH

[So to the Coffee-house, where great talke of the Comet seen in several places, and among our men at sea and by my Lord Sandwich to whom I intend to write about it to night (*Diary*, 15 December, 1664)]

15 December, 1664

I shall carefully observe your Lordship's directions touching Tangier, and am happy in so early discovery of my (well intended) mistake, being led to the forwardness your Lordship takes notice of out of a respect (it is true) to my duty (in which, nevertheless, I have no ambition of being reckoned an overdo), but with an especial regard to your Lordship's interest in the honour and improvement of that place, to both which

¹ Thomas Cutler the merchant of Austin Friars (see W H Whitear, *More Pepysiana* p 121)

² Carteret

³ Captain George Cocke who dealt in hemp, and Alderman Edward Backwell the goldsmith are frequently referred to in the *Diary*

the advancement of the Mole is alone so essential But I now know your Lordship's pleasure, and shall act accordingly

I have newly seen some letters from Holland of a tenor so little akin to the despair we vulgarly expect our high dealings should cast them into, that they upbraid us with foul play in falling upon their Bourdeaux men without warning, and threaten a revenge, whereof they the less doubt (they say) because in a quarrel wherein we decline the decision of a neutral umpire, the King of France

The want your Lordship observes of able seamen, wherein we ought principally to excel, and on which we so greatly value ourselves above our neighbours, doth (methinks) too much discover by what ill measures we are contented to calculate our strength, when before one stroke is strook and not half the fleet equipped (which a Dutch war will ask), we are forced to rob the plough, etc, for a third of those men we have already in pay The Parliament continues still puzzled in the method of raising this money, every man thinking himself obliged to contend at least for the case of his own country, in the mean time the year and our stores as well as credit wasting apace

Here is great discourse of a comet, and particular observations of its motion and appearances said to have been made on board your Lordship's ship God avert its ill bodings (if it have any), and preserve your Lordship!

21 [MS p 143] S P TO THE EARL OF SANDWICH

[Thence to the 'Change, and there, among the merchants, I hear fully the news of our being beaten to dirt at Guinny by De Ruyter with his fleete The particulars, as much as by Sir G Carteret afterwards I heard, I have said in a letter to my Lord Sandwich this day at Portsmouth (*Diary*, 22 December, 1664)]

22 December, 1664

Yesterday came the ill news we have long expected from Guinny of De Ruyter's retaking all the Dutch had lost, and that in the most advantageous circumstances to themselves they could have wished First, to the possessing themselves of all our wealth (landed and then upon delivering)

there, to the utter ruin¹ of our Company's stock of above 100,000*l*, and leaving them in debt 100,000*l*. more, and defeating them in their great contract with Spain for blacks Next, to the foulest reproach of cowardice that hath ever been found due to so many English ships as we had there, under the protection too of two forts, there being not the least show of opposition made by us, but all (and more than was asked) calmly surrendered to them Lastly, to a too seeming justification of themselves among people willing to find fault with his Majesty's proceedings towards the Dutch, for they have not only forborne any violent act towards his Majesty's officers and effects there, but done the same to every private man for continuing him in quiet possession of whatever he said was his, to the value of 6*d* Only where they found the Royal Company's mark could prove that anything did belong to them, they seized it and hold it, giving our men and ships (all but one that was our Company's) liberty of disposing of themselves [as] they pleased, and our masters' bills of exchange for their freight upon their own West India Company, the ship that brings the news having a bill in that manner for 700*l* 'Tis hard to say whether this news be received with more anger or shame but there is reason enough for both

This day was launched (present the King and Duke) Sir Wm Petty's new double boat, how she proves your Lordship shall hear hereafter, but wagers are laid of all sizes in her defence

22 [MS p 147] MR JOHN LANYON² TO S P

[This evening, by a letter from Plymouth, I hear that two of our ships, the *Leopard* and another, in the Straights, are lost by running aground, and that three more are like to have been so, but got off, whereof Captain Allen one and that a Dutch fleet are gone thither, which if they should meet with our lame ships, God knows what would become of them This I reckon most sad newes, God make us sensible of it! This night, when I come home, I was much troubled to hear my poor canary bird, that I have kept these three or four years, is dead (*Diary*, 11 January, 1664-5)]

Plymouth, 8 January, 1664[-5]

I am sorry of this occasion to write you, being to acquaint you of the loss of two of his Majesty's ships in the Straits, the

¹ MS "ruing ² Agent of the Commissioners of the Navy at Plymouth

Leopard and another not named I have a young man, a servant, arrived this evening from Cadiz, who sold there his ship's load¹ of dry fish from Newfoundland, and came thence to morrow will be four weeks, who saw a letter to Mr George Wallis of Cadiz from Gibraltar to this purpose That 5 of our King's ships putting from Tetuan Bay intending for Gibraltar, mistook the land and run ashore a little to the eastward, the *Leopard* and another lost,² and the rest is thought were forced to cast their guns overboard to get off I wish it be not so bad, and I pray God prevent such disasters

[*Postscript*] 3 weeks since, they met at sea about a dozen sail of great Dutch ships, and supposed them to be men-of war bound into the Straits

Captain Allen³ was ashore also, but got off leaving some of her guns and broke his bowsprit, my man saw the letter being written by a Spaniard

23 [MS p 146] S P TO THE EARL OF SANDWICH

[So to the 'Change, where to my last night s ill news I met more Spoke with a Frenchman who was taken, but released, by a Dutch man-of-war of thirty-six guns (with seven more of the like or greater ships) off the North Foreland by Margett Which is a strange attempt, that they should come to our teeth, but the wind being easterly, the wind that should bring our force from Portsmouth will carry them home God preserve us against them, and pardon our making them in our discourse so contemptible an enemy! (*Diary*, 12 January, 1664-5)

So to the Hall awhile, and thence to the Exchange, where yesterday's newes confirmed, though in a little different manner, but a couple of ships in the Straights we have lost, and the Dutch have been in Margaret [Margate] Road (ib 13 January, 1664-5)]

12 January 1664[-5]

My last was touching the *Prince*,—the 10th This is to give your Lordship an account of some ill news we have from the Straits, which I shall best do by transcribing my letter from

¹ MS "ships loaden"

² An entry in the *Diary* for 14 January 1664-5, gives the names of the two wrecked ships as the *Phoenix* and the *Nonsuch*, and this is confirmed by Pepys's *Register of Ships* (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS*, i 272-274) They were both 4th-rates

³ Captain afterwards Sir Thomas Allin was at this time commanding in the Mediterranean on board the *Plymouth*

a merchant of credit in Plymouth.¹ There are no particular letters from Cadiz or the fleet of it, nor nath the King other notice of it than this, but yet the manner of the report makes it look for a truth.

Further, of the same unwelcome sound, I am to acquaint your Lordship that upon the 'Change this day I spoke with a master of a French vessel who saith that on Tuesday last he was seized on by a Dutchman of 36 guns off the North Foreland, not far from Margett, 7 Dutch ships of war being in company more, and great ships of 40 guns. Finding them all French and French goods they released the vessel, taking out only 3 English passengers and their trunks and goods. We have been all this afternoon very solicitous for our East India ships now outward bound in the Downs, but by advice this evening I find they were safe there yesterday, and no notice taken of any Dutch snips. However, the report of the Frenchman we believe to be true and think it a great scape that they should not visit the Downs, which they might easily and safely have done, and may yet God preserve your Lordship, and send me better tidings for my next.

[*Postscript*]. I shall add only this, that our ship of masts so long detained in Holland they have at last released and she is come home

21 [MS p 147] S. P. TO THE EARL OF SANDWICH

[To the Change where our late ill newes confirmed in loss of two ships in the Straights but are now the *Perse* and *Nonsuch* (Diary, 14 January, 1664-5)]

14 January, 1664[-5]

This is not to better, but only alter a little of the report I gave your Lordship in my last of our ill hap in the Straits. I have this day seen a letter from a master of a vessel lately come to Plymouth from Malaga, who in his way stopped at Gibraltar, where he found Captain Allen and 2 ships more safely got off, but the *Phoenix* and *Nonsuch* lost, all striking upon the great rock (as the letter says) that stands as you

¹ No 22 above

go into Gibraltar This vessel set sail out of Gibraltar Road on Sunday the 11th December with 36 sail more, but by her ill sailing lost them all that night and knows nothing since of them He saith farther, that at his being at Malaga (omitting to express when) the Flemish Smyrna fleet was there with 4 Flemish frigates all bound for Cales,¹ if Captain Allen stop them not

25 [MS p 156] S P TO MR COVENTRY

[Thence I to Westminster, and by water (taking Mr Stapely the rope-maker by the way) to his rope-ground and to Limehouse, there to see the manner of stoves, and did excellently inform myself therein So went

to a Dutch [house] to drink some mum, and there light upon some Dutchmen, with whom we had good discourse touching stoveing and making of cables But to see how despicably they speak of us for our using so many hands more to do anything than they do, they closing a cable with 20 that we use 60 men upon (*Diary* 13 February, 1664-5)]

13 February, 1664[-5]

The sum you desired of the difference between Captain Jennings² and his master (so much as appears to us from the complaints but of one side) is, that the captain hath treated with a continual contempt, sometimes beaten, kicked, dragged by the hair, put in irons, confined to his cabin 13 days together with a guard over him, and used other such violences to his master, that at a council of war held on board my Lord Sandwich January 21st last, the master was cleared and ordered to return to the exercise of his charge, yet nevertheless hath been since obstructed therein by the captain, confined 5 days more to his cabin, and hindered by him in joining with others by order of my Lord Sandwich in surveying of some provisions, that having been again directed by Vice-Admiral Mings to return to the exercise of his place, he continues under the displeasure of his captain, and hath had his cabin ransacked and journal and papers taken away by him

I have bestowed some time to day in informing myself farther touching stoveing, and having appointed Matthews our bricklayer to meet me, have visited the two chief stoves

¹ Cadiz

² On Captain, afterwards Sir William, Jennens, see *D W B* xlix 319

about the City, and not only taken all their dimensions but informed myself most particularly in every circumstance of their use, which I will trouble you with so soon as I have sorted my notes, and to confirm my enquiries farther, I have been helped to the advice of a couple of Dutch masters that have been much used in the business of ropemaking, who readily informed me in everything I desired therein Upon the whole I am convinced it is a thing easily and cheaply set on foot, and with as little difficulty as great advantage to be kept so It remains that some of the Board be appointed to view and lay out the place in the King's yard for building the stove, in which I shall willingly assist

26 [MS p 158] S P TO MR COVENTRY

22 February, 1664[-5]

* * * * *

Sir, I can't but acquaint you that we are running apace into the old ill effects of bad payments,¹ complaints beginning to grow loud on the merchants' part and will ere long on the King's, when to the greatness of our consumption and the general embargo we shall add badness of our payments,—to the raising the price of all we buy

* * * * *

27 [MS p 174] S P TO MR COVENTRY

24 March, 1664[-5]

I am sorry the first tidings I am to send after you must have so bad a beginning, yet wish that all that shall follow may end no worse

On the 22 current, in the night, the clerk of a the cheque's wife at Portsmouth (a very debauched, drunken woman), rose from her husband, went down stairs, and lighted a candle a little before morning a fire was discovered in their house, to

¹ On the financial difficulties at the time of the first Dutch War Charles II's reign, see *Catalogue of Papyrian MSS* 1 99f, and the references to the *Diary* in note 5 on p 100

the great endangering of the rest of the houses, storehouses, and ship[s] in dock, and the worse for that it happened at low water But it being observed early and carefully suppressed, no other hurt hath ensued than the burning of the woman to ashes, saving her head, one of her feet and shoulders, and the wicker chair in which it's presumed sh'ad fuddled herself .

* * * * *

28 [MS p 175] S P TO COMMISSIONER MIDDLETON

25 March, 1665

* * * * *

We have much reason to take notice of God's providence in the preserving the yard and ships from the danger which lay over them by the fire at Mr Steventon's, wishing you could propose some way of helping the yard to water against such another occasion, if God shall ever send it

29 [MS p 183] S P TO MR COVENTRY

[Up betimes to the Duke of Albemarle about money to be got for the Navy, or else we must shut up shop (*Diary*, 7 April, 1665)]

8 April, 1665

Yours of the 3rd and 4th I have, and first for clothes Since what I writ to you in my last (of the fourth), I have a promise from the slopsellers that a thousand suits from head to foot shall be ready to be put on board upon Saturday, at which time also two or three thousand hamaccoes shall be ready to go with them, and more of both shall speedily follow But I assure you, Sir, unless some better care be taken for the payment of the slopsellers, I do not think they can continue, and by what I have tried already, others are wholly unwilling to begin to trust us This I have very freely declared to the Treasurer, but with little satisfaction to myself for doing so, and less to the service

* * * * *

30 [MS p 189] S P TO MR COVENTRY ¹*nd*

I subscribe to your friendly adviser, as being likely to lose very little by the bargain. Let letters be directed to the Board or myself, for twenty to one to me they will come at last, though perhaps not so fresh by four or five days in the former as in the latter way if they fall into some hands, which obligeth me often for my own justification to note down the time of my receiving letters from them to whom they happen first to have been delivered. But 'twas spitefully done to give you this counsel just now, when (by my being left alone) the Board and Mr Pepys are all one,—at least have been so ever since your packet arrived, and am so now, which excuseth the simplicity of the answer to your double address

* * * * *

31 [MS p 191] S P TO MR COVENTRY

15 April, 1665

* * * * *

Now as to the business of money, what I have to acquaint you with is this. That finding our credit every day lessen, and prices thereby to rise upon us, and that upon notice thereof taken to the Treasurer he was come to give us no other reply but "Go to my Lord Treasurer and try what you can do, for I can get no more money," I thought it necessary to draw up a state of the present charge of the Navy and what probably it will be till November next, by which time some ships likely will be brought in. This having done and offered to the Board, they concurred with me in tendering it to the Lord Treasurer, which we did according to the copy thereof here enclosed, concerning which (because it would be too long to give you a rationale of every branch of it) I shall once for all

Thomas Harvey interviewed the Lord Treasurer, the Chancellor and the Duke, 'and there I did give them a large account of the charge of the Navy and want of money' (*ib*)

¹ This letter is undated but it comes in the MS between 8 and 13 April, 1665

32 [MS p 197] S P TO MR COVENTRY

[This day I have newes from Mr Coventry that the fleet is sailed yesterday from Harwich to the coast of Holland to see what the Dutch will do God go along with them ! (*Diary*, 22 April, 1665)]

22 April, 1665

This is chiefly to convey my prayers after you and our Royal Master,¹ whom God protect by the Almightiness of his mercy

What is possible to be done by any vigilance of mine I can and do promise, but how little unassisted that can do in the executive parts of this Office you can well guess, and I am sure I tremble at what the consequences of it may be, should the fleet come home in the condition we hope to put our enemy into

I will end in a reassurance that neither sleep nor food shall prevent me in one hour's attendance upon my own duty, and assisting of any others in theirs, that may render us the fitter to receive you at your return, which God grant may be with victory Sir, I bid you most affectionately adieu

33 [MS p 205] S P to —————²

4 May 1665

* * * * *

Our present hurry doth somewhat hinder our progress in the setting up of stoves, but I hope nevertheless in a little time to have them set on foot

I do from my very heart concur with you in your opinion touching perquisites and other inconveniences which (for want of a constant eye over the King's yards) are daily put upon the King's service As to money, I assure you I am both grieved and ashamed to think that so necessary an occasion as yours can't be supplied therewith all this while The truth is, this difficulty of getting money we meet with in all our matters so greatly that I am fearful in a short time our

¹ The Duke of York Coventry had sailed with the fleet, attending the Duke as his secretary

² This letter is probably to Commissioner Middleton at Portsmouth

credit will be utterly overthrown My satisfaction in so bad a case, [is] that for my own particular I have done all in my power to press the necessity of good payments and the greatness of our expense, so that in letting the King's service to suffer I have washed my hands

* * * * *

34 [MS p 212] S P TO COMMISSIONER MIDDLETON

20 May, 1665

I have with a little difficulty provided you a book as you desire which tells you the true state of the fleet and [where the] King's ships were the beginning of this month, than which none can be so true because none hath at this time the cognizance of the stations of all the King's ships but myself, though others may know the state of some certain squadron or part of the fleet better than I

35 [MS p 212] S P TO THE EARL OF SANDWICH

[Thence to the Exchequer and there got my tallies for £17,500, the first payment I ever had out of the Exchequer and away home with my tallies in a coach, fearful every step of having one of them fall out or snatched from me (*Diary*, 19 May, 1665)]

20 May, 1665

* * * * *

Mr Povey never had less then 15 or 20 thousand pounds of the King's money or tallies in his hand to the going of my Lord Bellasis¹, and so had in his power what I yet wholly want, having not yet touched one penny, and was possessed but yesterday of tallies, which will not readily at this time produce money

My Lord, the condition the business of this Office hath put me into ever since I last see your Lordship (being wholly prevented in the hearing or discoursing of anything save the work of my place) makes me unable to give your Lordship any news worthy your hearing

¹ MS "Bellaces Lord Bellasis the new Governor of Tangier, had sailed from Plymouth on 22 March

Your Lordship's family I however take care as often as I can to enquire after and visit,¹ where all were very well, though the town begins to be very unhealthy

36 [MS p 214] S P TO [MR COVENTRY]

20 May, 1665

* * * * *

Whatever the success shall be (which God make the best), I must without flattery say the whole world bears testimony to your endeavours and their effects, which for themselves and our great Master's sake² that is adventured with them, I will not fear (for whatever other reason there may be for it) but God will bless

And not to be silent in my own bad case, where (without arrogance) my pains exceed any of my neighbours, and for all that shall not want as great a share of blame upon any miscarriage, I can safely say that were or could the imperfections of this Office in the dispatch of ships, etc, be greater than they are, or had the hire of my labour been 10,000*l* per annum, I could not be possessed of a more hearty intentness in the early and late pursuance of my duty herein than I have been hitherto, and would you have it demonstrated, take it then in your own merry mathematics I have heard no music but on Sunday these 6 months

37 [MS p 217] S P TO MR COVENTRY

25 May, 1665

* * * * *

What we shall shortly do without better payments I am loath to guess, or add to your other melancholy meditations so heavy a one as that, but it is come already that people under their hands have said, "Pay me for what you have had, and I'll trust you further"

* * * * *

¹ But see the entry in the *Diary* for 28 May, 1665 "Thence to my Lady Sandwich's, where to my shame I had not been a great while before"

² The Duke of York

38 [MS p 218] S P TO THE EARL OF SANDWICH

27 May, 1665

The absence of all my fellow-Officers obligeth me to such attendance that I come to the knowledge of nothing acceptable to your Lordship For I am sure the want of money, men, materials, and meat will sound but ill, yet is the truest news I can send your Lordship, as living in the noise of nothing else Which makes me sorrowfully apprehensive what at the best can be the issue of your first engagement when (to be open to your Lordship) I cannot foresee you can in any time be in condition (without a miracle) for a second God of his mercy preserve your Lordship through what difficulties are now before you

39 [MS p 219] S P TO MR COVENTRY ¹

30 May, 1665

That I shall say is only to repeat the assurances I have heretofore given you (and which I fear you may by our bad performances be somewhat shaken in the belief of), that whatever be the issue of this great business, I will be found by all ingenuous observers to have done my single part carefully and faithfully One word more I have, which is to commit the whole matter, and the many noble lives hazarded therein, to the protection of the Almighty, and with particular devotion invoke his mercy in your behalf

40 [MS p 224] S P TO THE EARL OF SANDWICH

[Sir John Lawson I hear is worse than yesterday the King went to see him to-day most kindly It seems his wound is not very bad, but he hath a fever, a thrush, and a hickup, all three together, which are, it seems, very bad symptoms (*Diary*, 17 June, 1665)]

17 June, 1665

Finding your Lordship not come up with the Duke (which I hoped for), I dare not omit my duty of congratulating your

¹ This letter is copied in Pepys's own hand

Lordship your safety, and honour gained in the late action, which I am not only well informed his Royal Highness doth everywhere give to your Lordship, but am a witness with what ingenuity Mr Coventry doth your Lordship right both public and private, as well respecting your counsels as your personal performances, which God hath hitherto, and I trust will for ever bless

Sir John Lawson is at Greenwich, and was visited by the King this day His wound, it seems, doth well for what appears, but his fever, thrush, and hickup are symptoms the physicians do greatly apprehend, and speak doubtfully of him for ¹ I greatly long to kiss your Lordship's hand

41 [MS p 227] S P TO MR COVENTRY ²

[At noon dined at home, and then to the Duke of Albemarle's by appointment to give him an account of some disorder in the yarde at Portsmouth, by workmen's going away of their owne accord, for lacke of money, to get work of hay-making, or any thing else to earne themselves bread (*Diary*, 1 July, 1665)]

Navy Office, 1 July, 1665

I am very much unsatisfied in my setting out with the ill tidings I must begin my correspondence with you this voyage, but though the matter will be unwelcome, yet fearing the want of your advice upon it may render it worse, I judge it necessary to trouble you therewith The enclosed will tell it you better than any other words can What the consequence of such a practice as this may be, for workmen (be their provocation never so great as this at Portsmouth I doubt is) to combine in a desertion of his Majesty's service, I am very unable to foretell, and do as little see how the present difficulty will be removed, the Treasurer's instruments here leaving us utterly unsatisfied therein till the Treasurer return to town

¹ In the action off Lowestoft on 3 June, 1665, Sir John Lawson had been wounded in the knee He died of gangrene at Greenwich on 29 June

² This is a slip, for Pepys had already referred to him in the *Diary* for 28 June as Sir William Coventry It is stated in W. A. Shaw *The Knights of England* (ii 240) that Coventry was knighted on 3 March but Pepys's method of address and in these matters he was always punctilious, confirms the date 26 June, 1665, given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*

This so unpleasing subject I could willingly lay aside, but every day administering fresh occasions of thinking of it, it is but necessary to give you a little share of what passes

This morning, upon a pressing demand from Commissioner Pett for 1000 yards of korsies, we sent for Mr Medowes, who declaring to us that the debt we owe him for that commodity arises to above 2000*l*, and part thereof in bills of 12 months standing, and that he could not with any security to himself proceed to trust us farther unless we would add to his price 18*d* per pound for what he should sell us, that thereby he might be in capacity of raising money from the goldsmiths, which he then knew he could of course compass and otherwise not, he pressed it publicly and with such absolute-ness to the Board that (not knowing where else to be trusted) we were obliged to undertake for the getting him ready payment for this parcel or give him what he demanded in his price I leave this to be reflected on at your leisure

42 [MS p 228] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

8 July, 1665

* * * * *

Sir, it is my opinion that it would be of use, if you should think so fit, that his Royal Highness would be pleased to bestow his command upon us with some earnestness for the looking betimes into the state of our stores, before the necessities of the fleet put us upon those extremities which I am sure otherwise we shall if ever they come to engage again, and I am afraid from the little forecast which the best of us is guilty of, especially at a time when no man will sell without a promise of ready money, and the answers we both take and give to that question are generally very unpleasing, I say, I am afraid we shall easily be inclined to drive off the providing ourselves with stores till our wants grow greater and our capacity of buying less .

43 [MS p 233] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

[Thus we end this month, as I said, after the greatest glut of content that ever I had, only under some difficulty because of the plague, which grows mightily upon us, the last week being about 1,700 or 1,800 of the plague My Lord Sandwich at sea with a fleet of about 100 sail to the northward, expecting De Ruyter or the Dutch East India fleet (*Diary*, 31 July, 1665)]

5 August, 1665

Partly from the uncertainty of finding of you, and partly from an unwillingness to interrupt your ease unnecessarily, I have hitherto forborne the troubling you with any account of our matters here, which what with the absence of the fleet and the general silence that the present disease puts upon all business, have not been very great since my parting with you at Hampton Court

* * * * *

I have been a good while alone here, the rest having to one place or other provided for themselves out of town The truth is, few but ticketeers and people of very ordinary errands now come hither, merchants and all persons of better rank with whom we have to deal for provisions and otherwise having left the town, so that I think it will be necessary with respect to them that we remove to some place to which they may be invited to come to us, such as Greenwich or the like¹ Be pleased to let his Royal Highness's pleasure be signified herein, for though the removal of my particular papers and business be I think impracticable, and so do purpose myself to trust God Almighty and stay in town, yet I would be glad that we might have some place appointed where my fellow-Officers and those we have to do with may think it safe to continue their meeting, without which the King's business in a little time will be at a very great stand

44 [MS p 235] S P TO LORD ARLINGTON

[Thence to my Lord Bruncker at Greenwich and Sir J Minnes by appointment, to looke after the lodgings appointed for us there for our Office, which do by no means please me, they being in the heart of all the labourers and workmen there which makes it as unsafe as to be, I think, at London (*Diary*, 21 August, 1665)]

¹ This suggestion was carried out, and on 16 August the Navy Office was ordered to be moved to Greenwich

So to the King's House, and there met my Lord Bruncker and Sir J Minnes, and to our lodgings again that are appointed for us, which do please me better to-day than last night, and are set a doing (10 22 August, 1665)

At noon down to Sir J Minnes and Lord Bruncker to Greenwich to sign some of the Treasurer's books, and there dined very well and thence to look upon our rooms again at the King's House which are not yet ready for us (10, 24 August, 1665)

24 August, 1665

I have suspended the signifying to your Lordship my receipt of your Lordship's of the 16th, with that enclosed from his Majesty, until I had enabled myself by attending the officers of the King's House and those of the town at Greenwich to give your Lordship the account I now do, which is, that rooms sufficient for the purpose of this Office are set apart, and in few days will be ready to receive us, which while the town (as it doth yet) continues healthy will answer his Majesty's ends. But lying in the middle almost of the works, may (if the visitation should happen among the workmen) become in a little time little less unsafe than where the Office now is. But for prevention, the town officers seem as solicitous in everything conducing to their safety as can be wished

* * * * *

45 [MS p 237] S. P. TO SIR GEORGE CARTER RET

[24 August, 1665]

At my leaving you at Cranb[o]rne, I desired you to move my Lord Arlington about having the King's pleasure obtained for our hiring some rooms in a private house the which was offered us at Greenwich for our Office. But Sir John Mennings, who procured the offer, is since otherwise advised, and will not have the Office kept at his lodging, so we make use of his Majesty's letter and have rooms assigned us at the King's House, where we shall meet on Saturday. But letters now coming thick upon us from the fleet, Sir William Coventry, the Duke of Albemarle, and other places, requiring speedy answers and orders thereupon, I hardly see it practicable (at least for me)

to be anywhere but here, saving upon the meeting days, when
I shall wait upon the rest of the Officers

* * * * *

46 [MS p 238] S P TO SIR GEORGE CARTERET ¹

London, Navy Office, 25 August, 1665

I promised you last night an account of the state of our victualling, which lying then in loose notes, and being a matter unfit to commit to any hand but my own, I could not then get time to digest, but have done't this morning, and herewith send you a copy I shall not need to point at the sorrowful inferences to be drawn from it, they lying plain enough All I shall say is, that as bad as our condition is, it were good to know whether it be not yet worse (for there's no hope of its being better than Lewes ² reports it), and to that purpose, were I to advise, some vigorous person (qualified as I think I could name one) should to night before to morrow be put upon visiting all the Victualler's stores and contracts relating to each victualling-port in England, by which the King should as to this action throughly know his strength once in 3 weeks or a month, whereas now the honour and wealth of King and kingdom depend without cheque upon the understanding, credit, diligence, integrity, and health of one man, whose failure in any of these 5 circumstances inevitably overthrows all Pardon and make what use you see fit of this motion, for I am sure I do, and Mr Gauden ³ knows I do, mean him very well

Mr Pepys's Account of the State of the Victualling ⁴

The state of the victualling of his Majesty's fleet, con-	The Earl of Sandwich, in his letter to me of the 21st
--------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------

¹ This letter is copied, with many corrections, in Pepys's own hand It contains the suggestion which was afterwards to take shape in the office of Surveyor-General of Victualling to which Pepys himself was appointed

² Thomas Lewes, with whom on 29 August 1662, Pepys began "to look into the nature of a purser's account and the business of victualling"

³ Mr afterwards Sir Dennis, Gauden, Victualler of the Navy

⁴ Entered opposite MS p 237 in Pepys's own hand

sisting of 105 ships, as it was declared in writing to his Royal Highness and the Principal Officers and Commissioners of his Navy, July 26, 1665, by Dennis Gauden, Esq, was summarily this,

That the said fleet was effectually supplied with	Beer	to Sept 13	to Aug 23
	Biscuit	28	
	Beef	to Oct 8	
	Pork	8	
	Pease	7	
	Fish	6	
	Butter	8	
	Cheese	7	to Sept 18

August 24 Mr Lewes (in the absence of Mr Gauden) being summoned by the Principal Officers and Commissioners of the Navy to give an account of this failure, undertakes to verify Mr Gauden's said declaration by receipts under the hands of the purser of each ship, disowning his being privy to the short delivery (in specie) of any purser's provisions, and that as to leakage, he will justify Mr Gauden to have delivered the full proportion of iron bound cask he is by contract obliged to

To the further demand of the Principal Officers and Commissioners touching the present supplying of the fleet, Mr Lewes answers that

As to dry provisions, there is and will be, in 6 or 7 days (and not sooner) shipped into victualling-vessels at	As to beer,	Men's Victuals	for 6 months

There went	4 days since from Harwich	1030	tuns 1650
	2 days since from London	220	
	There shall go in 2 days more from London	400	

All which, amounting to 6 weeks and 2 days dry provisions and 18 days beer for the fleet (reckoned by him to be manned but with 23,000 men)

carries the fleet in its { dry provisions to Nov 2 } and no
 { beer to Sept 10 } further

To our last query, what capacity Mr Gauden is in for further supplies of drink after the expenditure of this, Mr Lewes answers,

That (saving the help may be hoped for from beverage by the prize wines and brandy, the quantity whereof he knows not) he dares not undertake for a greater weekly supply of beer than

		Tuns	
From {	London	400	} 800 tuns Whereas the weekly expense of the fleet is near 700
	Harwich	300	
	Dover	100	

S PEPYS

47 [MS p 239] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

25 August, 1665

* * * * *

Little till now occurring to give occasion of writing to you, I forbore to tell you of my receipt of yours of the 14th, wherein nothing commanded answer more than the return of my thanks for the large share you give me of your good wishes, which (I bless God) I yet have the benefit of, though the sickness in general thickens upon us, and particularly upon our neighbourhood. You, Sir, took your turn at the sword, I must not therefore grudge to take mine at the pestilence

48 [MS p 241] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

3 October, 1665

Want of money, numbers of prisoners¹ (which the Commissioners for Sick and Wounded have flung upon us) to be

¹ "So away to Mr Evelyn s to discourse of our confounded business of prisoners and sick and wounded seamen, wherein he and we are so much put out of order" (*Diary*, 5 October, 1665)

fed, of recovered men to be disposed of, and merchant ships and seamen to be paid off, is the greatest of our present burthen, and is likely to be my song to you till something be done for our case therein, which having so much of the King's honour and purse concerned in it will not be left long unminded ¹

* * * * *

49 [MS p 242] S P. TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

5 October, 1665

* * * * *

For your good advice about a timely looking after a supply of stores, I wish to God I had a better answer to give you, however, let this pass for a good one so far as that it is the true one, viz, that I will always (as I have hitherto) preserve myself in a capacity, by my journal letter book and otherwise, to prove that I have not only at all times been mindful to demand from the yards, but have had answerable returns from thence of the state of their stores and what they wanted, and that I have publicly delivered these to the Surveyor, and (as my duty is) minded the Board of contracting or otherwise providing for supplies. But whether this will be reckoned a full acquittal of myself (at this time of so much more business of my own to do) I must submit to my Master's [judgment] ¹

* * * * *

50 [MS p 245] S P. TO [THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE]

[I to my office, where very busy drawing up a letter by way of discourse to the Duke of Albemarle about my conception how the business of the victualling should be ordered, wherein I have taken great pains, and I think I have hit the right if they will but follow it (*Diary*, 6 October, 1665)]

6 October, 1665

By your Grace's commands yesterday, and directions since from Sir William Coventry, I have endeavoured to lay together what considerations have in so short time occurred to me relating to the question on foot, viz, How his Majesty's naval victualling may be better provided for than it hitherto

¹ The rest of the letter is in shorthand

hath been under the single management of Mr Gauden? Towards which I find propounded either

That an additional number of wealthy, experienced, and active partners be entertained by or imposed on the present Victualler, or

That it be managed for his Majesty by a Commission upon account

To both which I humbly offer to your Grace, that as I am fully of opinion that there cannot be found 3 persons qualified in all these respects who will at this time adventure the success of such a partnership, and am therein confirmed by a refusal given me from 3 or 4 of the likeliest men the Plague hath left within my reach to propose it to (among whom are Sir William Rider, Sir John Bankes, Mr Child, and Captain Beckford¹), so were they now to be found, or for want of them could his Majesty be furnished presently with a stock of able Commissioners to act for him upon account, I dare aver that the inventorying and valuing of all the Victualler's houses, utensils, and stores in every port, the resettling all officers, overlooking and adjusting the old and making provision for new contracts, the obtaining a thorough understanding of the state of each ship's victualling, and the securing to the present contractors what they have already delivered, and lastly, the raising a fund of money wherewith to do this (which new undertakers, be they by partnership or commission, will certainly expect), I dare, I say, aver to your Grace the doing all this will require at least two months' time, which, how ill it can be spared while the last year's declaration is just upon expiring and the only season is now on foot for making provision on a new, I know your Grace doth much better apprehend than myself

But, may it please your Grace, that which I think will lead us most naturally to an ease in this point is to examine the particular regards wherein the King's insecurity (which we would now prevent) consists and those, I take it, are principally these, viz, that so great an affair ought not to be committed to a single undertaker, lest he

¹ These are all mentioned in the *Diary* Captain Beckford was probably Thomas Beckford the slopseller

Fail	} in it.
Die, or	
Betray you	

To the first of which I must acknowledge I have ever been diffident of Mr Gauden's sufficiency therein, till that being led by your Grace's late command to reflect more particularly upon the late victualling action, I find that his Majesty hath within the last year declared for almost 39,000 men's victuals for 12 months, whereof (as Mr Gauden reports and a copy of it is sent Sir William Coventry) very little remains at this day unissued, and therein a greater work hath been performed by him alone than ever was done in the last Holland's War when managed by a joint-partnership of half a score the ablest and aptest men of that time, and with less complaint as to the quality of his provisions, and (which is more) with a greater credit by him given to the Crown than is to be expected from any body of Commissioners, and many degrees greater than was ever given by the former contractors, Mr Gauden declaring under his hand that of 474,000*l* due to him from his Majesty for his sea and harbour victualling, freight, and cask expended in the last year's action, he is at this day unpaid by 125,000*l*. So that if Mr Gauden hath gone thorough more single than hath at any time been done by others in conjunction, though better paid, there will be less reason to fear his failing when (as it must be if new hands be set at work) he shall be better supported with money

As to that of his death, I do confess the ill consequences thereof (which at this sickly time too is but an easy supposition) cannot be too much valued, and therefore do humbly advise that it may with utmost caution be provided against. But, may it please your Grace, if the former difficulty touching his sufficiency be removed, I do not see but should his two sons (who are both of age, and not only concerned on their own behoof to understand and look to the well ordering their father's affairs but do at this day apply themselves thereto to that purpose) be added to their father in his contract, it would no less secure his Majesty against this inconvenience

51 [MS p 248] S P TO SIR PHILIP WARWICK.¹

[And so to write letters to Sir Ph. Warwicke, Sir W Coventry, and Sir G Carteret to Court about the last six months accounts and sent away by an express to-night (Diary, 8 October, 1665)]

8 October, 1665

* * * * *

For the last part of your letter about prices, I have also inclosed you a few instances of the differences between the present and late cost of commodities, which though in so great an expense they must rise to a great sum, yet God help the King and his cause if the Parliament shall give no more than they can be made understand reason for, for the difference of the market, set against the nameless and numberless points of charge created by a war at sea, is but of mean consideration.

* * * * *

An estimate of the charge of his Majesty's Navy for six months beginning April the 1st and ending September the last, 1665

	<i>l</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
The fleet supposed to consist of 37,000 men			
Wear and tear, including the price of stores for supply of the yards answerable to the expense	298,800	0	0
Victuals for the said number of men the same time	212,000	0	0
Wages for the said number of men the same time	298,800	0	0
Extraordinary and ordinary of the yards and ropeyards	46,041	0	0
Sick and wounded, and Dutch prisoners	20,000	0	0
His Royal Highness the Duke of York's regiment	1,000	0	0
Building, and providing materials for the rigging, sails, and ground tackle, of 17 new ships	112,634	0	0
Total	1,006,075	0	0 ²

¹ Sir Philip Warwick was Secretary to the Lord Treasurer and managed the business of the Treasury for him. Pepys found him a most exact and methodical man, and of great industry. (Diary - 9 February 1663-4)

² There is something wrong about the figures here. 298,800 or 298,800

Differences in prices of small forbearance Commodities before and since the beginning of the War, 1665

	Before the estimate	Since	
	l s d	l s d	
Hemp	41	55 0 0	} per ton
Cordage	all paid, an	48 0 0	
Canvas	12	18 10 0	} per bale
Pitch	1	18 0 0	
Tar	10 0 0	14 10 0	} per last
Resin	9 0 0	11 0 0	
Deals	4 0 0	7 10 0	} per hundred
Timber	2 8 0	3 3 0	
Plank	3 10 0	4 6 0	} per load
Masts			

in express terms 6d in 12d more, i.e. we pay 15l for a mast we bought before for 10l

Portsn

MS p 2 y (I s 56) S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

ve hav

14 October, 1665

i the p

I give your thanks for your letter of the 11th, and in the first place have run over again with Mr Gauden the account of his given great excess in this year's deliveries, wherein as to matter of fact I am not much unsatisfied in the justness of his comely reputation,¹ but do rather acquiesce therein, and rely on the truerth of that which you have thought on to be the occasion thereof, which you will yourself be more confirmed in when clarified. I have told you that having lately sent down Mr Hayter (among others) to muster some of the ships in the River (directing him purposely thereto for the discovery of what praedictices he could in this part of the pursers' trade), he tells me that he himself did not meet with less than 100 borne to that day and called at that time by the purser at the muster

we — ar and tear and wages is an improbable coincidence, and the total does not add up correctly. Probably wages should be £315 600, which would make the total come right

¹ Marginal note — Mr Hayter tells me that casting the numbers allowed to the ships now abroad they amount to above 30,000, besides most of the hired ketch and victualling-vessel

I have done, and shall forbear troubling you with from myself because it will better come to you from his Grace¹ Pray let as little loss of time be suffered herein as you can

You shall have the estimate for the victualling the next post, it being now done, but I must send it to Erith to be signed God be thanked for what the Parliament hath given,² and send it well paid, and we to do our parts in husbanding of it

53 [MS p 261] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

17 October, 1665

* * * * *

His Royal Highness's order and your advertisement about paying off of ships shall be diligently observed, particularly in preferring the merchantmen in the River before those at Portsmouth, the concealing what may be our want of money (I say, what may be, because those at sea will never think we have wherewith to pay them off while they daily hear of the complaints of their fellows on shore for non payment of their tickets), the distinguishing in order of payment those least from those most in arrear, and lastly, the removing of able men (when discharged) into some other ships by discharging worse for them, but then those worst men must have money ready to pay them off or it will be reckoned very severe

I have here enclosed you the estimate of the Victualler's declaration, and discoursed with him upon the distribution thereof to the several ports, the result whereof, with the reason of it, you have here, that so you may, as you approve or dislike our measures (which are the issues of the last year), let it stand or correct it

[TABLE

¹ The Duke of Albemarle

² This refers to the Parliamentary grant of £1,250,000 towards the expenses of the Dutch War cf *Diary* for 15 October

* * * * *

54 [MS p 263] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

[My business of the victualling goes on as I would have it, and now my head is full how to make some profit of it to myself or people To that end, when I came home, I wrote a letter to Mr Coventry, offering myself to be the Surveyor-Generall, and am apt to think he will assist me in it, but I do not set my heart much on it, though it would be a good helpe (*Diary*, 19 October, 1665)]

Greenwich, 19 October, 1665

In answer to yours of the 17th, I will not fail to write again to the Commissioners for Sick and Wounded about their books against we have any pays

You shall speedily have an account of all I can inform you touching widows and orphans

And for what Mr Prynn¹ hints about the Chest, it is so far the present practice that the money due from each man to the Chest is set in a column by itself ready at any time to be cast up, but generally is not totalled till the tickets of all men on that book be brought in, which is usually a great while after the ship be paid. But, Sir, that which is a thing much to be lamented is, that the money actually paid by me at my discharge to day shall not perhaps be made good to the Chest in 12 months after, nay, by a late address from the Governors they declare that at this time of want among the old and increase of the number of new pensioners, they have not received one penny of all the money which hath been stopt from the Chest since December 1663 Therefore it were indeed an act worthy his Royal Highness to enjoin us strictly that the money defalked at all pays be actually at the same time laid by for, or paid into, somebody's hand for the use of the Chest, which I am glad of this occasion to recommend to you to promote, it being a thing I have frequently had in my wishes, and now see and hear the want of it more than ever

The obtaining of what more masts are to be had in Sweden I do judge of mighty moment, and will propound it to my fellows as soon as I can

This evening I was sent for by his Grace the Duke of

¹ MS "Prin "

as exciting a letter as my melancholy can dictate, and hope he will answer it by an equal compliance

And now, Sir, as to our merchant matters You know nothing leaves so little room for courtship as money, therefore I must have your excuse in my not parting with it in sport I never yet failed my promise, and will not therefore begin so ill a practice with Sir W Penn But then again, I never paid for goods the seller would not warrant me the quiet possession of, nor do I think Sir William Penn reckons so meanly of my discretion as to expect I should do it now in a compliment to him This I thought not amiss to say, though Captain Cocke¹ tells me he will this night satisfy you in the assuring of your payment next week But upon my word, it is from his own certain knowledge and mere motion, and not from any satisfaction I have either received myself or given him in the reasonableness of doing it without the warranty desired

56 [MS p 267] S P TO [JAMES, DUKE OF YORK]

24 October, 1665

Your Royal Highness's intercepting and most gracious approving the offer (directed to Sir William Coventry) of my service in the business of the victualling I do with most humble thankfulness acknowledge myself surprised with, and hope these additions to your Royal Highness's bounties towards me shall never be unattended by an improvement in my desires and endeavours of serving you as I ought

Your Royal Highness shall be very speedily presented with a list of persons for the surveying each port, by whose care I dare take the assurance his Majesty's service shall never be in danger of the difficulties it now suffers, not more from the want of provisions than from a want of a timely knowledge of that want

* * * * *

¹ On 25 September Sir William Penn had made a bargain with Captain Cocke for ten bales of silk, but as they were prize goods his title to them appears to have been disputed See *Diary*, 25 and 27 September, 1-14 October 16, 20, 22 October, 13, 29 November, 13, 30 December 1665, 7 January, 1665-6

57 [MS p 269] THE SLOPSELLERS' DECLARATION

Declared by the Slopellers, October 26, 1665

That without some supply of ready money they could not proceed to furnish us with more clothes

That Mr Burrow[e]s in the last two years and half

Hath given the King credit for	16,000
--------------------------------	--------

Hath received in	<table> <tr> <td>money</td> <td style="text-align: right;">1,330</td> </tr> <tr> <td>tallies payable</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>18 months hence</td> <td style="text-align: right;">6,000</td> </tr> </table>	money	1,330	tallies payable		18 months hence	6,000	7,330
money	1,330							
tallies payable								
18 months hence	6,000							

So there remains due to him	8,670
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That Mr Beckford in the same time

Hath given the King credit for	13,000
--------------------------------	--------

Hath received in	<table> <tr> <td>money</td> <td style="text-align: right;">1,490</td> </tr> <tr> <td>tallies</td> <td style="text-align: right;">3,700</td> </tr> </table>	money	1,490	tallies	3,700	5,190
money	1,490					
tallies	3,700					

So there remains due to him	7,810
-----------------------------	-------

That if the former may be supplied with 5,000*l* and the latter with 2000*l* ready money, they will undertake between them to furnish the whole fleet all this winter, so as to prevent all occasions of complaint for want of clothes, and likewise do this from places uninfected

58 [MS p 268] S P to [SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY]

26 October, 1665

[So to the 'Change, and thence I by water to the Duke of Albemarle's, and there much company, but I staid and dined, and he makes mighty much of me. Here he proposed to me from Mr Coventry, as I had desired of

Mr Coventry, that I should be Surveyor Generall of the Victualling business, which I accepted. But, indeed, the terms in which Mr Coventry proposes it for me are the most obliging that ever I could expect from any man, and more, it saying me to be the fittest man in England, and that he is sure if I will undertake, I will perform it. and that it will be also a very desirable thing that I might have this encouragement, my encouragement in the Navy alone being in no wise proportionable to my pains or deserts. This, added to the letter I had three days since from Mr Southern signifying

that the Duke of Yorke had in his master's ¹ absence opened my letter, and commanded him to tell me that he did approve of my being the Surveyor-General, do make me joyful beyond myself that I cannot express it, to see that as I do take pains, so God blesses me, and hath sent me masters that do observe that I take pains (*Diary*, 27 October, 1665)]

* * * * *

I must not omit to repeat one thing in my last (lest it should not come time enough to you), that though upon the opening of my letter to you by his Royal Highness, his Royal Highness was pleased, out of his gracious inclination of favour to me, to send me by Mr Sotherne his approbation of what I had proposed to you concerning my being used in the victualling matter, yet I would suspend challenging the benefit of that favour till I shall hear your opinion of the fitness of it with respect to the King's service, for I am so sure of your hearty kindness to me that I will never be shaken in that, whatever you shall advise, and where the King's service is concerned you do, I hope, believe my private accommodation shall have no preference desired by me

* * * * *

59 [MS p 270] S P TO [THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE]

[At it till almost one in the morning, and after supper I to bed, mightily satisfied in all this, and in a resolution I have taken to-night with Mr Hater to propose the Port of London for the victualling business to Thomas Willson, by which it will be better done, and I more at ease in case he should grumble (*Diary*, 27 October, 1665)]

Up, and sent for Thomas Willson and broke the victualling business to him, and he is mightily contented, and so am I that I have bestowed it on him By horse back again to Greenwich, and there I to the office very late, offering my persons for all the victualling posts, much to my satisfaction (ib, 28 October, 1665)]

28 October, 1665

Though by their being out of town I have not yet a return from two of the persons herein mentioned, yet both your Grace and the affair requiring me to make haste, and no more doubting of their compliance than I do of their ability and performance if they undertake it, I do in obedience to

¹ I.e. Coventry s James Sotherne was his secretary

your Grace's commands present these as persons thoroughly qualified for the charge intended, viz ,

London	Mr Thomas Wilson ¹
Portsmouth	Mr John Shales ²
Harwich	Mr Andrew Crawley
Plymouth	Mr Samuel Langford
Yarmouth	Mr Richard Gibson ³
Dover	Mr Francis Hosier ⁴

And for the Surveyor Generalship which your Grace was pleased to propound to myself yesterday, and wherein his Royal Highness also hath been pleased to cause his concurrence to be signified to me, I do with due thankfulness to his Royal Highness accept thereof, and promise as much as integrity and my utmost industry will enable me to do therein

60 [MS p 271] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

28 October, 1665

Let me in the first place acquaint you the Duke of Albemarle hath sent for and proposed to me the Surveyor Generalship of the victualling ports, shewing me as an encouragement your advice therein I accepted of it thankfully, and do own it as a very considerable good turn, but the content arising from the terms you were pleased to move him with concerning me I protest is greater than I can express, or can ever think of paying you for by deserving that character, though I will heartily endeavour it by striving never to deserve it less!

¹ Thomas Wilson was Sir Willham Batten's clerk.

² Captain John Shales of Portsmouth was one who cast his bread upon the waters On 2 March, 1663-4 he had sent Pepys 'a good present of tongues and bacon' and on 18 May he had followed this up with 'a pretty cabinet which I give my wife, the first of that sort of goods I ever had yet and very conveniently it comes for her closett'

³ Richard Gibson a clerk in the Navy Office is frequently referred to in the *Diary* Some account of his career is given in *The First Dutch War* 1652-54 (Navy Records Society's Publications 1 1-2)

⁴ Francis Hosier was muster-master at Gravesend His 'Method of balancing Storekeepers Accounts' dated 7 November, 1668, with a letter to Pepys of 28 November appended, is among the 'Sea Manuscripts' in the Pepysian Library It is referred to in the *Diary* under dates 6 September and 24 November, 1668, and 12 February and 7 March, 1668-9

I have this night presented his Grace with names of persons qualified the best I know for the particular ports, and are

London	Mr Thomas Wilson	His ability you know
Portsmouth	Mr John Slates	As able and practised as he, long employed at Portsmouth, and one for whose diligence and integrity I am well warranted
Harwich	Mr Andrew Crawley	But very long to the business of the victualler and the clerkship thereof, for whose honesty I will answer
Plymouth	Mr Samuel Langford	Known to and eminently recommended by the Duke of Albemarle, but to me wholly a stranger
Yarmouth	Mr Richard Gibson	A purser extraordinary, being sober, ingenuous, and honest, a good clerk and diligent His ship the <i>Sapphire</i> being unfit for sea, you put him into the <i>Royal Exchange</i> , now discharged
Dover	Mr Francis Hoster	Clerk of the cheque at Gravesend, fit for it in all respects I am well assured, but have engaged his successor at Gravesend, shall condition to give him place again at his return if he have not himself the naming of his deputy

due to them from the King, upon security to be given them for the whole on the late supply given by the Parliament, and to have interest for the money so advanced at 9 per cent.

What I have gathered from this subject, having not time to put it into a better form, be pleased to take in some loose considerations and make your own inferences.

1 For some time backward the greatest part of our hemp, cordage, pitch and tar hath been served us by undertakers upon account, who will not come under any provocation to advance money.

2 Other commodities which were bought from before 12 months since were, I think, bought with such care as to the price that, in my conscience, the generality of them will not refund for their stay so long without payment, much less bear with an additional charge of advancing money. Which

3 I am persuaded few of those that deal with us for considerable quantities are capable of doing,¹ they having already trusted us further than they are able by their own stocks, but are forced to borrow money to do it, which if lent by the goldsmiths (and few else are able to do it) comes not to them at less than 8 or 9 per cent, and therefore it would be hard for them to borrow it 8 per cent at least, to lend at 6. Besides, though this of borrowing money may not be the case of all, yet I am apt to think they all are helped by the credit they have for provisions, of which one tradesman can be supplied by another to 1000*l* value when he can't be trusted nor will think it to be known to borrow 500*l* in money. And to be more particular by reflecting upon Burroughs and Beckford, slopsellers, Young,² Whistler, and Michell, flag makers, Cole, Moorcocke, and Glide for timber and plank, Stanes³ for glass, with our several little ropemakers and anchorsmiths, I am persuaded we owe some of them twice as much as they are worth, and all of them four times as much

¹ The MS inserts "not" as in afterthought, and reads "are not capable", but this is evidently a mistake.

² A flagmaker in Cornhill. Young, Whistler, and Michell are all mentioned in the *Diary*.

³ Cole, Moorcocke, and Stanes are mentioned in the *Diary*.

62 [MS p 278] S P TO [SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY]

[After dinner I to the office and there late and much troubled to have 100 seamen all the afternoon there, swearing below and cursing us, and breaking the glasse windows, and swear they will pull the house down on Tuesday next I sent word of this to Court, but nothing will helpe it but money and a rope (*Diary*, 4 November, 1665)]

4 November, 1665

My last of the 2nd told you of my intentions to get down to the fleet, which I did early yesterday morning¹ and returned this My stay was the less, finding myself prevented in my chief errand, namely, the seeing what wanted for the dispatch of Rear-Admiral Harman's fleet,² which was answered by my finding them under sail My Lord Sandwich commanded my presenting his very humble service to you, not giving me a letter because he told me he had been very lately very particular to you Discoursing upon occasion of the delay of this fleet concerning many things worthy correction for the future (as the negligence and knavery of pursers, etc.), my Lord proposeth a general *quære* whether during this winter vacation among many of the commanders, some of them as a committee might not be set at work to collect what they have observed any failures in that might be remedied against next year, and to digest remedies timely for his Royal Highness's and this Board's cognisance I know of many relating to pursers, pressed men, sick men, victualling ships, ketches, boatswains' embezzlements, etc., but I am confident they must needs know more, and such as fall not under our notice at shore Pray think of this, and give me your opinion whether anything of this nature could be done

Enclosed is as good a collection of precedents concerning widows and orphans as the books in my custody will furnish me with, wherein you will see their practice was without any certain rule Though it be not so satisfactory as you would have it, yet you will see the collecting this from several books

¹ " Was called up about four o'clock and in the darke by lanthorne took boat and to the kitch and set sayle (*Diary*, 3 November, 1665)

² Sir John Harman was being sent to convoy merchant ships from Gottenburg

they declare they will part with no more money till Mr Fenn comes to town I dare not for your sake but acquaint you herewith, lest you should think they perform their parts while they neither do nor mean any such thing

63 [MS p 282] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

9 November, 1665

* * * * *

The state of our matters as to paying bills in course is this In June last, newly before the Vice Chamberlain's¹ leaving the town, a proposal was made by him to the Board the contents of which and the resolution of the Board thereon you will find in the enclosed copy of a memorandum thereof by me taken and entered in my journal, in pursuance whereof all the bills passed the Board since that day are numbered in the margin But the Treasurer immediately going to Court, and our cash failing (our utmost promised being but 2,500*l* per week while we spend above 20,000*l*, and of that but 11,500*l* paid us in above 11 weeks), we have been very far from an ability to answer life and death payments, much less to offer at paying bills in course, which implies an income in some near proportion to the expense

* * * * *

64 [MS p 285] S P TO SIR GEORGE CARTERET

9 November, 1665

The casting up what is due to all the fleet requires a day or two's time more, which I entreat you to allow me

As to the other matter you committed to me touching the payment of bills in course,² I have enclosed a copy of what

¹ Sir George Carteret was Vice Chamberlain of the Household as well as Treasurer of the Navy, and Pepys often refers to him by the former title especially where, as in this letter the Treasurer of the Navy might be confused with the Lord Treasurer

² Cf the references to "payment in course" in Pepys's *Admiralty Journal* (Navy Records Society's Publications)

stands in our books concerning it, to which I am to add that from that day to this we have continued to number every bill we sign. But money growing so short that, instead of 23,000*l* which we represented to my Lord Treasurer to be the weekly sum necessary for us to be furnished with, we have not had above 11,500*l* in above 11 weeks, it is impossible anything of course¹ could be observed in the paying of bills while the necessary occasions of the Office requiring immediate payment called for 5 times that sum. However, by the enclosed it appears plain enough you had done your part in declaring your consent and advice that this method should be observed in payments, though my Lord Treasurer hath not enabled us to observe it.

65 [MS p 287] S P TO [THE EARL OF SANDWICH]

11 November, 1665

I had your Lordship's, wherein you were pleased to speak kindly of my last visit, though the meanest piece of duty I owe your Lordship.

I acquainted Sir W. Coventry with a motion your Lordship made to me of having a committee of commanders during this winter vacation for the enquiring into and excogitating remedies for what fault[s] have occurred to them this summer. He exceedingly approves of it, and tells me he will write to your Lordship about it, wishing you would be pleased to think of some fit persons to be set at work on this score.

The *Breda* and *Welcome* are an early instance of what I prophesied to your Lordship the other day of the state of the Navy. One is at Gravesend and the other in Long Reach in want of men to bring them lower. Press we are ashamed, while we have so many idle in wages and victuals. Go none will (they all declare) by fair means (notwithstanding our orders) out of any other ships till they are paid for their service in their present ships, nay, and in the demand thereof they are so tumultuous here, and have been so at Portsmouth,

¹ Cf the references to 'payment in course' in Pepys's *Admiralty Journal* (Navy Records Society's Publications)

that we are forced to scramble up a little sum to stop their mouths there because of the fleet's going out thence, and to get a troop of horse sent us hither to secure us in our Office I long to hear your Lordship were returning to Court, but before your going pray you will give me the opportunity of waiting upon your Lordship once more, for I think it may not be unuseful God preserve your Lordship

66 [MS p 291] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

15 November, 1665

Since mine last night I have nothing to add but to put you in mind of a motion I made a while since to you, that his Royal Highness might be desired to command us at the pays of all ships to cause the Chest money at the same time to be defalked, for I have every week complaints from the Governors for want of money, they having not received a penny since December 1663, and poor wretches are for relief forced to come crawling up hither, that would break one's heart to see them

Be pleased to read their last letter to me, and if possible let me have his Royal Highness's pleasure herein by the next, that I may send it away to Portsmouth when the money goes

* * * * *

67 [MS. p 291] S P TO [SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY]

[Sailed all night and got down to Quinbrough water where all the great ships are now come and there on board my Lord, and was soon received with great content And after some little discourse he and I on board Sir W Pen, and there held a council of Warr about many wants of the fleete, but chiefly how to get slopps and victuals for the fleete now going out to convoy our Hambro ships that have been so long detained for four or five months for want of convoy (*Diary* 17 November, 1665)]

18 November, 1665

In answer to both yours of the 14th and 16th, let me begin where I left in mine of the 15th, which gave you an account that I had been sent to from the Council of Officers to give them a meeting at the fleet, which I did yesterday, waiting

on my Lord Sandwich on board the *Charles* (for Sir W Penn's sake, who was not well enough to stir out), and there gave them the best answer I could to what they enquired, which was about slops, victuals, pay or short allowance money, and some other particulars (to no great purpose to trouble you with) But I must confess it is a deadening employment to keep a dying fire alive with one chip for want of bellows and fresh coals

* * * * *

As to the slops, I could and do with all my heart grieve for the seamen that want them, but reflecting upon men that have trusted the King with about 16,000*l* (more I believe by much than they are worth), I know not how to blame their not trusting us onwards till they touch part of what they have already wrought for, which I hope they will now do in few days As to the place of providing of clothes, they can't have present credit in new places, but besides that (blessed be God) we hope the malignity of the disease is worn off, they assure me they work the greatest part out of town of what they are now sending

* * * * *

Were there not other considerations more ominous than the increase of enemies or the dread of the continuance of God Almighty's displeasure (of the removal whereof he hath given us so great an earnest in the late decrease of the Plague), I should go on in my little matters with great good cheer But evils there are which, if not remedied (as remedied they may I should think be), will ruin us had we but half the present enemy, much more if charged with another, as you tell me we are likely to be by France

68 [MS p 294] S P TO SIR GEORGE CARTERET

21 November, 1665

Mine by Saturday's post acquainted you that 26,000*l* would be ready for Portsmouth by Monday, and accordingly that sum was dispatched away with a good guard yesterday morning

But let me also tell you, that you may see how much all the credit of the Kingdom is fallen into 2 or 3 hands, the East India Company were fain to borrow 10,000*l* of Backwell and 2000*l* of Viner to make up this 26,000*l*, or at least to call so much money out of their hands to enable them to do it. When the rest will be paid I cannot foretell, because they plead they have already advanced more than they have yet received goods to make good. However, I assure you no care of mine shall be wanting to hasten it, and therefore made a journey on Sunday last on purpose to quicken them in their delivery ..

69 [MS. A. 307] S. P. TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

[All our business is now about our Harbours' fleets, whether it can go on to the year, the weather being set in frost, and the whole stay being for want of Pilots now, which I have wrote to the Trinity House about, but have so poor an account from them, that I did acquaint Sir W. Coventry with it this post (Diary, 25 November, 1665)]

25 November, 1665

In answer to yours of the 23rd, I have taken care for the executing of his Royal Highness's commands about Browne of Harwich, but that which I intended in my former about him was another unfaithfulness about his own stores, into which Commissioner Pett is now enquiring and tells me between Baker (who is dead, and him matters lie very suspicious. To what you speak about the embezzlements of this age, let me add with shame that I think we ourselves have been guilty of the greatest part of it in not seeing them well accounted for when discovered, it being out of my memory that we have punished six embezzlements in six years as they ought to be

* * * * *

I can't but give you an account how we have been dealt with by the Trinity House in the business of pilots, much like their help in their finding a master for the *Sovereign*. Fourteen days ago I was directed by the Duke of Albemarle and presently¹ signified it to Captain Bodiley and two days

¹ I.e. immediately

after to Trinity House, and after that procured a letter from the Duke to the Master and Wardens thereof for the providing some pilots forthwith to go with his Majesty's fleet to Ham-borough All that with frequent message[s] and calling on them I could obtain from them was the naming 5 to me one whereof had never taken charge of a ship, great or small, thither in all his life, a second, not within these 10 years, another taken out of a collier, where he serves as mate, and declared by the master to be insufficient, the fourth (as the party says) taken out of his bed, where he had been for some time sick However, he and one more only were with great violence imprested to go, and those so late (but on Thursday last) that I fear the fleet was gone before they could get down, which (as the place is said to be) is a scandalous thing they should be without pilots, at this time of the year too Sure this should be taken notice of, if the finding of pilots be any part of their charge, as I have always thought it had

70 [MS p 309] S P TO COMMISSIONER TAYLOR ¹

28 November, 1665

I am glad at your vigorous prosecution of the discovery of embezzlements, and entreat you to have no regard to any man for any interest they may be thought to have in me, for on my word I will favour no man in anything unjustifiable, and pray let him that thinks the contrary know what I here say

71 [MS p 312] S P TO CAPTAIN TAYLOR ¹

30 November, 1665

I can't, being alone, return you my answer presently from the Board to your late informations about Mr Browne your storekeeper, but suppose you shall not be long without some advice concerning him In the mean time, give me leave to

¹ Captain John Taylor had been appointed resident Commissioner of the Navy at Harwich in 1664 See p 29 above

acquaint you that I was informed that he did in these and other removals of his Majesty's stores (some of which he confesseth) endeavour to do it with secrecy and by private dealings¹ with some labourers or other persons in the yard and moreover did take the advantage of your absence and the absence of other his Majesty's officers in the yard to remove them the more safely This, if it be so, is a pregnant circumstance of his intentions in doing it Therefore pray plainly inform the Board whether² he come open-faced at all times and inform you and the clerk of the cheque of what goods he took away, and caused the same to be publicly entered in your and the clerk of the cheque's or his own books in order to their being demanded and delivered back again, and whether he voluntarily confess the whole of what you have informed us before you entered upon your inquisition or witnesses come against him to prove it Pray deal plainly in a matter of this nature, and give us your speedy answer hereto

72 [MS p 314] S P TO COMMISSIONER PATT

2 December, 1665

It is now 2 months within 2 days since this Office hath felt one farthing of money for any service, great or small, though to save the life of a man by paying a ticket We are in hopes of a little in a little while

73 [MS p 314] S P TO CAPTAIN TREHERNE,³ Coast

2 December, 1665

Having seen a certificate from yourself of the dutiful and religious performance of the offices of a chaplain on board your ship by Mr Wood, whom you found in the execution of

¹ MS 'delays

² MS 'men'

³ MS 'Treynerne Lieutenant William Treherne was appointed to the command of the *Coast* in 1665 (*Pepys's Register of Sea-Commissioner Officers* printed in *Catalogue of Pepys at MSS 1.4.15*) In this he had been preceded by Thomas Lauson, who was killed in the attack on Bergen in August 1665

that charge during Captain Lawson's command, I find no difficulty to be made about it, but desire you would deliver Mr Wood a ticket for his service in the quality of a chaplain, the objection of his not being in orders being good, I conceive, against the admitting a man into a chaplain's place, but not against the paying one for his service after he hath painfully and decently performed it

74 [MS p 315] S P TO [SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY]

2 December, 1665

* * * * *

I hinted in mine of the 30 November what you say in yours of the same date to me touching the bankers opposing this Act about money, but I presume neither of us expect other from them, whose credit lives upon the discredit of the Exchequer I hope the calamity of the time is almost over, so as people will come home again and matters resettle, the want of which contributes more to the prejudice of the Act than the disfavour of the bankers This leads me to put you in mind of obtaining leave for this Office to return to London, we by the King's order being to stay here till we had liberty to the contrary I confess I am out of ease, and the company of my papers, while I am here, and nothing done, I think, so natural as at London I should hope in a week more or two we may go all of us with safety, and for myself I purpose with leave to be gone the next

* * * * *

75 [MS p 319] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

5 December, 1665

* * * * *

I pray God the Victualler's case as to money be taken to heart I fear it is not, either on his behalf, in relation to the different pennyworths to be bought now and six weeks

hence, or on the King's, with respect to the impossibility of having the next year's service provided for at any price, if we lose many weeks more. And one thing I observe, that in every letter hither he industriously warns us of the danger the King's work is in for the next year through the want of money.

By an express yesterday of the 3rd instant Captain Taylor tells me how the whole fleet is at a stop in Osely¹ Bay for nothing but pilots, which I protest makes me almost mad, I having with so much pains continued to call on Trinity House, and yesterday went on the Exchange to see what I could do either by myself or them, and all to no purpose, they sending me word this morning by one of the Elder Brethren that they could get none, and to make it worse, I hear to day that but one of the two (which I wrote to you were gone) did proceed, the other being yet behind.

* * * * *

I will speedily give you my thoughts about the cheques and pursers, that is, what may be done to have them better looked to, but beforehand will tell you it must not be by cheques as is proposed, it being fresh in memory that they that invented them were first wary of them, and thrust them out again upon woeful good grounds.

76 [MS p 320] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

7 December, 1665

You have advice, I suppose, from Captain Taylor (who hath taken pains in it) of the going away of the Hamborough ships. God send them good luck!

What I heretofore mentioned I had received intimation of and set some at work to go on with the enquiry, I have now received in two letters from Captain Taylor, copies whereof I have enclosed, and am told further instances of his² practices

¹ Hollcsley

² This must refer to Browne, the storekeeper at Harwich see Letter No 71

77 [MS p 321] S P TO [SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY]

I by appointment met Mr Gawden, and he and I to the Pope's Head Taverne, and there he did give me alone a very pretty dinner. Our business to talk of his matters and his supply of money, which was necessary for us to talk on before the Duke of Albemarle this afternoon and Sir G Carteret.

So we rose and by water to White Hall, where we found Sir G Carteret with the Duke, and also Sir G Downing, whom I had not seen in many years before.

So to talk of our Navy business and particularly money business, of which there is little hopes of any present supply upon this new Act, the goldsmiths being here (and Alderman Backewell newly come from Flanders), and none offering any. So we rose without doing more than my stating the case of the Victualler.

(*Diary*, 8 December, 1665)

Called up betimes by my Lord Bruncker to go with him to the Duke of Albemarle, which by his coach I did. Our discourse upon the ill posture of the times through lacke of money. Discoursed also with Sir G Carteret about office business but no money in view (1b, 9 December, 1665)]

9 December, 1665

I have been attending my Lord General¹ with the Victualler² (Sir George Carteret and Sir George Downing present) about informing them with our states as to money. What our own is, is too long to tell otherwise than by saying we owe almost for all we have spent in stores many months, and for wages I but lately told you how much. The Victualler declares that less than 150,000*l*, to be paid him before the end of January, and the residue (being about 350,000*l*), to complete the next year's declaration, by weekly payments in 9 or 10 months, will not enable him to go thorough the next year's service. Of this I do not see we are sure to obtain for him more than 30,000*l* in any time fit for his purpose. I have had much discourse alone with Sir George Downing, and am confirmed in what I had been informed, of several other real advantage[s] to be hoped from this new Act which I had no conception of before. But withal he doth confess his doubts that they will not come timely enough and in proportion to succour the King in his present difficulties, though it is very probable they may in a little time.

The Duke acquaints me with a cake in the oven that may

¹ The Duke of Albemarle

² Mr Gauden

produce perhaps 200,000*l* down, but pray consider what this will do to what we owe for wages, if there were no other past or growing debt

His Grace shewed me this day his Royal Highness's order about cheques, which a little prevented me in what I was prepared to have said on that point. However, as far as became me I informed his Grace what I had learned of their uselessness heretofore, and what occasioned it then, and will now if not removed. Upon which he hath commanded me to offer my thoughts to him how they may be rendered serviceable, which I shall do and give you an account of it.

I should be glad to know what alterations or additions you will have in my instructions to the victualling ports, and your opinion freely whether, being performed, they will answer so much the ends aimed at as we hoped for.

* * * * *

My brethren, as many as are at hand, are contented to think of removing to London as soon as any frost comes. In the mean time you may please to let us have our leave to do it when seasonable.

78 [MS p 323] S P TO [SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY]

[So I by water, saving the tide, through Bridge to Sir G. Downing by appointment at Charing Crosse, who did at first mightily please me with informing me thoroughly the virtue and force of this Act and indeed it is ten times better than ever I thought could have been said of it (*Diary*, 12 December, 1665)]

12 December, 1665

I have received yours of the 10th, with which among others (all of which shall be attended) his Royal Highness's instructions touching our Treasurer matter, from which I expect a wonderful good effect, but to be made completely so by coming in of money answerably. Mr Brown's case shall be examined and reported.

I have spent all this afternoon with Sir George Downing, who I must confess (as before) gives me still fresh invitations to hope well from this Act, and it shall not want all the

furtherance I can give it with industry Nor do I fear success, if our affairs will but bear with the time necessary for the wearing off its novelty

. After much pains in my enquiries into the purser's trade, and therein collected a little volume of observation, I profess myself at a perfect loss what to advise, having not at present time to digest them so as to make any judgment, or inform you as I ought, that you might do it But before many days are over I hope to compass it, and in the interim only say that I have no expectations that there will ever be found, in so many persons as we shall need, all the qualifications necessary to make the project of cheques and stewards advisable Something I have in chase to offer, but am not yet master of it enough to call it my own, therefore will bestow some more thoughts on it before I adventure to make it yours But it shall not be long first

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79 [MS p 325] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY, O

14 December, 1665

I wish I could with any faithfulness think of you mistaken in your apprehensions touching that part of your Office you mention If I could, I am sure I neither want it respect enough to the Master of it nor the practice of a greater boldness with you than to tell you so

We are much out of humour upon the increase this week of the Plague, and the more for that in our parish it is risen from one to six, and though one of the least parishes yet hath this week the greatest number within the walls of any

80 [MS p 325] S P TO SIR GEORGE CARTER, O

14 December, 1665

The instructions you were speaking of to my Lord and me about methodizing the course of the Office as to bills

and payments are come to us from the Duke, and if you have not one (which pray let me know) I will send you a copy of them, partly for your satisfaction and partly because there is something ordered to be done by your servants against the first of January next. It is much to your advantage that the Duke takes notice it was from your voluntary offer, and I am confident the execution of them will do you great right, as well as bring you peace.

I have, both by letters from Sir George Downing and discourse, been much pressed to promote the business of the new Act by finding out persons to advance goods or moneys upon it, and have still answered him that I have already engaged myself both to you and Sir W. Coventry to do it, and that I am taking what course I can to compass it, but that I find none willing to meddle with it. And that they may not think this only a fourbe,¹ I hope to prevail with Sir W. Warren to serve in some goods upon it. But one swallow makes no summer, and if we be furnished with money or stores no faster than this Act will bring them in, God help us.

81 [MS p 326] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

[At noon to dinner, Sir W. Warren with me on boat, and thence I by water it being a fearfull cold, snowing day, to Westminster to White Hall stairs and thence to Sir G. Downing, to whom I brought the happy newes of my having contracted, as we did this day with Sir W. Warren, for a ship's lading of Norway goods here and another at Harwich to the value of above £3000 which is the first that hath been got upon the New Act, and he is overjoyed with it and tells me he will do me all the right to Court about it in the world, and I am glad I have it to write to Sir W. Coventry to-night (*Diary*, 16 December, 1665)]

16 December, 1665

What I promised and carefully endeavoured I have succeeded in, so as to obtain one ship's loading of Norway goods newly come into the River of Sir William Warren's to the value of 2000*l* and upwards, and by his example and mediation another to be served presently in at Harwich (the merchant one Vandefeild) to 1400*l* value, upon the credit of the new Act. I know not whether I have been more bold in the

¹ A cheat or trick

If so, and that the *Swiftsure* be not engaged, indeed I think your favour to this man will be well placed ¹

83 [MS p 334] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

28 December, 1665

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The Duke of Albemarle told me lately of a proposition he had sent you for a proclamation about tickets, which I took liberty to say something to him, but to you shall say a little more that I know not one thing in the world more injurious to the seamen than this will be, for what must become of their families who (as is the case of many now) are forced to continue in the service 16, 20, 26 months together if the credit of their tickets shall be taken away

Though I can't particularise further contracts upon the Act (the holidays hindering merchants' coming a little), yet Sir George Downing writes me Mr Gauden hath accepted his 200,000*l* assignment as good money, and that Sir W Rider offers 18 or 20,000*l* value of naval goods on the Act, besides the advancing 1000*l* in money, and in general I find the novelty of the Act wears away apace, and in a little time doubt not but it will be preferred to other payments ²

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84 [MS p 336] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

30 December, 1665

Yours of the 28th found me yesterday with all my pursery matters about me, which I went through with, but so scratched that I must transcribe it myself, which I could not possibly compass this sitting day, therefore pray your patience yet

¹ Apparently the application was not successful for as late as 23 June, 1666, Pepys refers to Bagwell as "lately come from sea in the *Providence*" (*Diary*)

² Three days later Pepys expressed a less favourable view 'The Dutch War goes on very ill by reason of lack of money, having none to hope for, all being put into disorder by a new Act that is made as an experiment to bring credit to the Exchequer for goods and money to be advanced upon the credit of that Act' (*Diary*, 31 December, 1665)

one day more, and (if that may be any inducement) I do at least prophesy you shall not find them further from the purpose than the proposition I found in that letter

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85 [MS p 337] S P TO [SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY] ¹

[Called up by five o'clock, by my order, by Mr Tooker, who wrote, while I dictated to him, my business of the Pursers, and so, without eating or drinking, till three in the afternoon, and then, to my great content, finished it (*Diary*, 1 January, 1665-6)]

Up, and all the morning till three in the afternoon examining and fitting up my Pursers' paper, and sent it away by an *Expresse* (*ib*, 3 January, 1665-6)]

Greenwich, 1 January, 1665-6

'Twas yourself directed me to't, therefore the less apology necessary for my spending time upon enquiries into what I do not know, at a season so full of exercise for that little I do

My business is, the considering the present method taken for securing his Majesty in the husbandly execution of the victualling part of his naval expense (which by his Majesty's declaration of 35,000 men will for the ensuing year amount to 425,833^l), and therein examine whether and wherein the same is found deficient, and what may be proposed for remedy

Upon which, after all the helps I can obtain from persons best qualified for it, as commanders, pursers, ancient cheques and stewards, clerks bred to the accountant-part thereof, and Mr Gauden himself (who, though tender of telling me their own, are open enough in stories of their neighbours' practices), and having thereby examined several new propositions (as that of making Mr Gauden the dispenser as well as provider of the victuals, and that of having commanders to indent, with some others), I have satisfied myself, and question not but so will you be too by and by, that the circumstances

¹ A copy of this important paper is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Rawlinson MSS, C 302) It bears the title "The Pursers employ anatomized, and both advantages and disadvantages therein discovered and also a proposall of committing the victualling accompt to the care and management of each commander Presented as a New Year's gift to Sir William Coventry by Samuel Pepys Esq in 1665[-6]" Another copy with a different title is in the British Museum (Harleian MSS, 6287)

in frigates, cannot be found sufficient for a supply for the whole voyage otherwhere than among the cask This wood, then, must be timely got, and no sooner that over but men, more or less, are entered, then comes turnery ware to be called for, and candles, and ere long his whole sea store Yet all this to be done without money, the Victualler not reckoning himself obliged to pay the purser any before indenting, and that many times not safe for the purser till a good while after, from many accidents out of his power to prevent or foresee, as, among others, the hoyman's making a voyage to Kent or Essex before he returns with his receipts to the Victualler, so no account till then to be given of the ullage, cask, short deliveries, and several other things, previous to the purser's *indenting*

The only remedy, then, for a purser in this case is to find such persons as will furnish him with goods upon the credit of his necessary money, and his undertaking to satisfy them before the departure of his ship

Now if (which is uncertain and at best requires time to compass), the purser doth find out such as will trust him, this credit he pays considerably for in the price of goods he takes up Thus, sixpence in a dozen of candles, 2s 6d or three shillings in a thousand of wood, and proportionably in his turnery ware, is necessarily drawn from him extraordinary Nor is that all, but being, as is said, supplied from the King but with 23l 2s 0d for satisfaction of 48l 5s, some other shifts he is driven to to raise credit to himself by (for money he hath none) for the rest

Hence ariseth the practice of leaving the customary part of his provisions, viz, the 8ths of bread and beer, behind with the Victualler, for which the Victualler allows him credit by bill (which should be paid also before his going), and upon that his creditors for necessaries do depend But forasmuch as neither this nor the very necessary money is for the most part timely paid, but contrarily, the purser forced to attend from day to day for the receipt of it till his ship sails, he is necessitated to stay behind till he can procure it, for the satisfying of his creditors And this attendance (by the way),

besides the injury his Majesty suffers from his absence on shipboard, is accompanied with an unnecessary charge to the purser also, and many other worse inconveniences arising to him by his provisions being left all this while to the management of his steward and cooper, which at the best cannot be thought so provident for him as himself might be

And contrarily to the general conception which imputes it to pursers as their voluntary practice that they leave thus much of their provisions behind, it is so far from it that nothing but the indigence of a purser would make him so improvident. For as for bread, all know it gains weight by lying, and so in three months would improve its value, and for beer, had he wherewith to set himself out without borrowing his provisions to satisfy his creditors with, so as he might receive into his own hands all his provisions in specie, many ways would offer themselves for his parting with what he could spare to better profit than at 30s per tun his beer and 10s 5d per cwt his bread, the price the Victualler allows him by bill. Nay, the Victualler himself (were he not privy to the purser's straits) would be very far from denying him the price he gives his own brewer and baker, viz, 36 or 37 shillings per tun beer and 14s 7d bread, for that this is not only to be supposed a gainful one and easeth him in the disburse of so great a part of his provisions of greatest expense, but contributes to the keeping down that increase of price which necessarily must attend a greater consumption. Besides that, no merchant man in the River (or to be sure at sea) would deny the purser as great a price at least in ready money as what the Victualler allows him by bill. Thus then what we usuall[y] charge upon the purser as a fault is really to his damage, and he necessitated to the inconveniences brought upon his Majesty by it, as the shortness of provisions in the fleet, the untimely coming in of ships for recruits,¹ and all the evils that depend upon that.

Another thing rendering the purser's employment heavy to him is the undergauge of cask, the Victualler's butt, which should contain 108 gallons beer measure, holding generally,

¹ I.e. recruits of provisions

one with another, not above 98 gallons This undergauge, though occasioned from the under measure of the Victualler's own cask, and to which the purser is in no manner accessory, but contrarily, the profit thereof the Victualler's, by excusing him in the issuing of more drink, yet is employed most unjustly to the prejudice of the purser, who though allowed (as is said before) 30s per tun for what by compact with the Victualler he leaves behind, yet for what is delivered him short by this undergauge he receives but 20s

Further, through the constant scarcity of fish, the practice is grown familiar of the Victualler's satisfying the purser for part of it in money, which, whether he pays or no the seamen expects shall be duly assured them by the purser, and one way or other he doth find way to do it, or pay dear some other way for the forbearance And yet it is to be doubted whether this evil be the greater to him or the consequence of carrying their whole fish, for the fish-rooms of few ships being placed elsewhere than under the steward room next the kelson, 'tis odds but the bilge-water spoiled 2 if not 3 of the 6 months' fish by scenting it, and so rendering it uneatable Now the tediousness of a survey and procuring a certificate for this, the uncertainty of getting that certificate allowed when tendered to us at the end of the voyage, and all that while to have no supplies for what is thus defective yet the seamen's clamours to satisfy for the fish money, makes them rather to accept of the Victualler's bill for part of it the beginning of the voyage than stay for the trouble and uncertainty of having any better satisfaction, or even that, at the end on't

One shift more he is put to at his going out which, though much to the King's prejudice, yet I rather reckon it among the purser's grievances than his, for that it is not the purser's corruption but necessity must be thought able to tempt him to such unthrifty ways of profit And this is his spending his sea provisions in harbour, thereby to spare his taking his petty warrant in kind, the proceed whereof is by custom understood between the Victualler and him as ready money For gaining of which he parts with that now for 5 pence (the

Victualler allowing him no more for what he saves a day out of petty warrant) for which at his return from sea he should at the Victualler's own rate have 6 pence, which is near 20 per cent loss to him

Nay further, another piece of rigour hath been and is sometimes put upon the purser by the Victualler, by refusing him the allowance of that 5 pence and paying him by certain rates set by the Victualler upon each species of his petty warrant, which put together bring the value of a man's victuals a day to less than fourpence halfpenny For which sometimes the King hath been put to make the purser amends by the ship's being entered into sea victuals some days the sooner, not only to the raising his Majesty's charge from 6 pence to 8 pence a day but the number borne by petty warrant to that of his sea number, which by a medium comes rarely short of the ship's full complement

But now supposing a purser by one shift or other enabled to follow his ship, let us see how much his condition there is better than his passage thither

And here you will find him engaged in all manner of practices by which he may oblige the captain, without whose favour his employment cannot be gone through with at all, much less with any peace or advantage For how shall his stay behind his ship be excused, and the frequent yet necessary occasions of his going on shore be borne with, when to answer the expense of provisions received out of victuallers or borrowed from other ships (which are never accompanied with proportionable necessities), he shall be forced to serve them on shore, though (which is a new prejudice to him) upon very unthrifty rates where the lying of a fleet raises the price of every commodity? How shall the ship's boats be allowed him? How shall he be protected from the violence of the seamen upon non payment of his fish money, whereto by the Victualler's failure he is often reduced? How from the officers' exorbitant expense of wood in dressing what they or the seamen shall happen to bring from shore? How from the unnecessary waste of candles, and the multiplied wrongs he is subjected to in the embezzlement of his provisions on all

it is that commanders make it no more their duties to keep any cheque (as they are instructed) upon the pursers, nay, are found so far from doing of it that of near 30 commanders to whom I lately communicated his Royal Highness's commands for their bringing in list[s] of their men on board and of their entries, discharges, runaways, and deaths of their respective companies in their last voyage, I received not from one of them any other answer than this, " I can't do it myself, but I'll make my purser do it "

In fine, hence it is that our muster books are returned no oftener to us, I having ever found it myself, and therefore the rather believe the complaints of our clerks as well as the muster-masters of the fleet, that the put-offs and discountenances they receive from commanders upon coming on board them are such as render their office both uneasy and unsatisfactory

Nor for my part do I less wonder at these practices of the purser's from the consideration of the hard terms he sets out upon than of those he must expect at his return, when he must come to pass his account, and therein sees himself found debtor (to say nothing of hoops and bags) for the cask cut up by the carpenter's crew and seamen to make graters,¹ boxes, desks, etc, and otherwise staved Nay, he finds himself condemned for greater quantities forced (upon his ship's being suddenly ordered to sea) to be put on board some victualler, where possibly the master is not on board, or being there is receiving or delivering cask or provisions to other companies, so hath not time to take this by account, however, the cask is there left, and shortly after delivered by direction of the Victualler's agent promiscuously with the cask of other ships, and for want of a receipt for the same the purser stands accountable for it without any means of discharging himself This, more or less, is the present case of most of the pursers in the fleet

Then their charges and time spent in bringing their accounts to a condition of passing, arising partly from the time necessary to collect certificates and receipts and partly through the

¹ I.e gratings

multiplicity of Mr Lewes's business, and lastly, too much reason they have of complaining for want of dispatch in our Office, where their matters are generally postponed to whatever else is before us, and ever meet with a slowness in us to be convinced of the reasonableness of easing him or the Victualler by laying any charge upon the King, though in cases so plain as their importunity afterwards leads us to do therein what at first the reasonableness of the thing could not

Besides all this, some other inequalities there are which the purser labours under yet more undeservedly

One's this Admit him upon the balance of his account creditor 50*l* in bread and beer, admit him also debtor in the same account as much for pork, pease, butter, etc. So unfavourably hath custom prevailed against the pursers, that for what he owes he shall pay the extreme price the King pays the Victualler, and for what he is creditor is allowed but the Victualler price For instance, if he comes short in bread he pays 14*s* 7*d* per cwt, if he exceeds he receives but 10*s* 5*d* per cwt, so that unless (which is a miracle) he happens to be creditor in all, he is subject more or less to the severity of this ill custom

Again, victuals in a greater or less proportion in all voyages are found defective, and of this and their being regularly cast the purser brings certificates, and those, if well framed, the Board upon passing his accounts chargeth the Victualler with The Victualler either denies the owing, or delays it till better informed (as he pretends) of the reason of the defect At last, perhaps, is wrought upon to allow it, but in this manner — the purser must be made debtor on his account (of which the Victualler hath the drawing) for the whole, and hath credit given him only for so much of it as proved good, himself promising to make the purser satisfaction for the rest By this means the purser becomes debtor to the King (suppose for 20 tuns of beer which had proved thus defective), and allows his Majesty after the rate of 40*s* per tun, and in compensation is repaid by Mr Gauden (and at his own time) 30*s* per tun But observe the consequence of this the purser is hereby provoked to use all the artifices he can, by himself

men on board, with distinction to be kept of boys, gromets,¹ servants ordinary, and able seamen, of defending the seamen from having anything wrongfully charged upon them under the pretence and title of clothes, to examine after engagements the true remains of powder and ammunition, in reporting to the Lord Admiral the character of each officer's demeanour and attendance, and continuing a thorough understanding of the expense and disposal of provisions and the reason of the want of supplies. This and a great deal more put together gave the first being to that constitution, and at this day makes a very grateful report.

But the impracticableness of it upon the terms first designed hath been thoroughly confirmed by a costly trial, for, besides that the work in bulk is much more than can be performed by one man, it requires the experience of every one of those officers over whom he is set to enable him to cheque each man in his quality, and how easy such are to be found may be guessed by the difficulty of obtaining a number sufficient to execute well any one of those offices singly. Besides, the stipend allotted them was so contemptible, and died with the voyage too, as not to defend him from want, much less support him in a guise becoming such a trust. And yet if all these services were performable by one man, and (as indeed I suppose they would deserve) a more liberal reward were appointed them, yet how consistent it would be with the discipline of a ship, and authority necessary for a commander, that there should be another person in the ship under a higher character than himself, or at least independent of him (for so he must be), I think may need considering.

But to see the real effects of that practice while it was up, I can't learn one particle of all the above pretended services that was performed, but contrarily, the persons employed being generally illiterate, most of them unexperienced seamen, and all poor, every one of the practices afore resisted were only acted with the greater security, for it is notoriously known that the very stewards were the compilers of the

¹ Generally a ship's apprentice, *cf.* Hakluyt "In every ship 21 men, and a garcion or boy which is called a Gromet"

cheque's mess books, or (if that failed) one porter upon Tower Hill adjusted matters for them both, and by his single hand it is believed a third part of the mess books of the whole fleet were calculated, with this advantage to boot to the steward, that his necessary money was advanced to 14 pence and his wages proportionably

A few cases indeed are mentioned of the cheque's correcting the steward, but it is well known it was but where some extraordinary accident had occasioned animosity, and that we may well conceive could not be often, where the opportunity of obliging lay so much on one hand (by money, clothes, fresh provisions, etc.) and so little defence against temptation on the other

Nor ere a whit better service did they do in reference to gunners, boatswains, and carpenters (who also had their delays increased on this occasion, and still keep them so), in allowing and signing to their account without either understanding or knowing them further than by a copy thereof, which they obliged each officer to give them for future use if called on by the Commissioners of the Navy

Besides, the profit of all savings, and the praise of it too, being removed from the steward, he becomes indifferent either as to embezzlement or any damages that might arise to the provisions, the envy and curses of the seamen, with the displeasure and severity of commanders, being better avoided than borne with where no advantage sweetens them

My third assertion,—that the most ancient method, though not wholly perfect, yet in all the circumstances of it (at least that occurs to me) is preferable to both the other,—I now come to prove, and that by this medium, viz my work is likeliest to be best done by him whose profit is increased by the well doing of it without increase of charge to me that employs him. And whether this be our case, where the purser shall professedly have the advantage of all absences and shortness in number of the ship's complement, I shall endeavour to examine through all the chief points wherein the good or ill of his Majesty's service is concerned

And in the first place, are we desirous the King's ships should

be in a capacity to stay abroad without being forced in untimely upon the complaint of every purser for want of victuals? By this method the continuance of the ship abroad is become the purser's profit, for that by how much they can by any good husbandry lengthen out their victualling beyond the time first victualled for, so much the more advantage fairly and peaceably accrues to them.

By which means we shall hear no more of the want of necessaries nor staying behind of pursers in attendance for them forasmuch as the profit of the voyage being greatedened and made more certain (yet without new charge to his Majesty, as will be seen by-and-by), they will be better able to buy and have better credit to take up all they shall need nor will ever be sparing to lay in enough, it contributing so essentially to the long staying abroad of the ship, and therein hath this encouragement also, that he shall be put to no more charge for the providing of turnery ware for 12 months than for his first three

Upon the like principle too, his whole business now will be the buying of seamen's victuals providing seines trawls, hooks, and lines to fish with, and making use of all opportunities, and what money he can carry with him, for buying fresh meat and roots from on shore (which by the way too will be of great use, as for the healthfulness of all so for the relief of the unhealthy), to make his victuals as lasting as he can, and finally put a stop to that great cry of embezzlement of provisions, a conveniency not to be valued by the price the King pays for them but the disappointments his service may suffer through the want of them.

Secondly, the King will be freed from his liableness to those impostures now practised in certificates for leakages and damaged provisions, the purser then being as much concerned for the not having, as he is now in bearing the loss of, any defective provisions, and will therefore be sure to spend what is decaying first, and prevent (all he can) the spoil of cask lest he want it for his re-victualling, and more than all this will be sure to leave no rights¹ behind of bread

¹ See note on p. 128 below

and beer, nor make any broken disposals of any one species of his provisions, which oftentimes (especially in bread and beer) forceth a ship into harbour as much as if the whole were wanting And what the benefit of this may be to the service may be a little understood by what the providence of some pursers have been known to do in the Straits, where Sir John Lawson, particularly, supplied his fleet with what the pursers had saved by their good husbandry, and to their great encouragement as well as to the very seasonable supplies of the fleet, did (as his accounts shew) fairly satisfy each purser therefor in money upon the place

Thirdly, the luxury (if not the fraud) in multiplying of supernumeraries upon ships will be by this means removed, for each purser, knowing that what victuals he issues to all he bears above his number will fall upon himself, will be sure to secure himself in that, yet not so as to be unable to victual what passengers, pressed men for supplies of other ships, or supernumeraries of any sort he shall by order be commanded to victual, but will make it his care that all he doeth herein be by order, for the enabling him to repair himself from the purser of that ship into which they are turned over Besides, hereby a practice as much suspected too as the rest will be removed, which is, the purser's taking the advantage of the real supernumeraries his commander occasions, to foist in a few more of his own

And under this head let me add the no little help it will give us in remedying that evil of having men in victuals and wages in two ships For whereas now it is the profit of one to conceal, it shall be then the interest of the other to discover the cheat For if my commander, out of respect to the King or himself, entertains a straggling seaman or a recovered sick man belonging to another ship, it is true he shall be victualled and the King have his service while he is there, but to be sure I shall make it my part to find out the purser of the ship to which this man belongs, and reimburse myself from him (if still borne on his ship) for the victuals he had lost me

And all this put together will have yet one circumstance more not undesirable, viz, that his Majesty shall be at a

certainly in his victualling charge, that his estimate thereof shall not be exceeded

Fourthly, upon this encouragement a purser place, as anciently, will suit men of credit, when frequently the Victualler used in foreign voyages, and particularly upon the coast of Ireland, to give them letters of credit, or by a power of drawing bills of exchange enable them to keep out the ship in all places and for what time they should by orders be directed, a trust you will grant me too high for our modern men

Fifthly, whereas now it is easily computed that the Victualler (what with the eights¹ left at first going out, and what afterwards upon terms is one way or other made his) doth buy a full sixth part from the pursers of all their bread and beer at his low rate, making the King repay him for the same at the full price The King by this means shall have the victuals in specie to serve him, and thereby his ship kept abroad the longer, and at the voyage end be able to encourage the purser by a price above what the Victualler should pay him, and yet save something of what himself must have paid the Victualler

Sixthly, upon these terms the purser shall need no provoking to come to account as now a-days he is, the method of it being most simple and his profit such as he may own

Lastly, by this means the purser will be made a free man,—freer, I mean, from the chargeable submissions he is forced to pay to the captain's table, and a servile necessity of conspiring for and with him to profit his purse For when he shall know his sufficient advantage to lie out of the power of the captain to favour him, he'll no more be privy to the over-rating of his retinue, the overcharging his ship with half pay seamen, or accommodating with the captain for the wages of runaways and false entries, but on the contrary, will be the most effectual cheque to all abuses of that sort that I can think on, for he will naturally reckon all unuseful men entertained for the captain's profit burdensome to him in consuming his victuals, as much as indeed they are to the King in taking up wages So that

¹ See note on p. 128 below

whereas now the ignobler officer is the tempter, and the captain only passive in assenting to the other's inventions, now the purser will have a plain and unbeholden subsistence, and thereby be delivered from the necessity of studying new and practising his old artifices And (to his Majesty's greater security, I hope) what wrongs he shall hereafter suffer must commence from the commander,—too mean a suspicion (methinks) to be entertained of men of their trust

It remains to shew that this shall neither add new charge to his Majesty's purse nor any new inconvenience to his service

For the former, I do appeal (and do't upon trial) to any man that shall examine the pay-books of any fleet of his Majesty's since his coming in, whether in 20 books (notwithstanding all our cheques and musters) he meets with one the medium of which shall not exceed, or come very near, the full complement of the number allowed And if so, what is this more than the suffering of that in effect, both in victuals and wages, which this way you would do professedly as to victuals, but with greater probability (as just now is said) of having right done in what concerns wages And upon this account too I will make another appeal to whoever will take the pains to examine any of the ancient ship-books, whether during that method the sea books did not keep more within their complements than now they do This I confess I have not myself examined, but believe upon report of some credible persons about us that have

Nay more, instead of bringing fresh charge, it will remove an unavoidable one which by increase of necessary money must be thought of if the present constitution remains

Then as to any new difficulty it may give occasion to in his Majesty's service, I confess I do not apprehend any likely to be objected against it but this, that it may conduce to the undermanning of his Majesty's ships To which I say,

First, if it be barely with respect to advantage the purser in the saving of his victuals, no captain will part with the honour he may lose by his failure in service through want of men, nor will he or his lieutenant disserve themselves by dis

abling their ships to take and man a prize, nor the master or mates unfurnish their half watches or the boatswain put himself to the difficulties he must do under a scarcity of men, and all this to gratify a purser

Secondly, if in order to the accommodating the captain with the profit of false entries, it is then at worst no new evil, being but what is every way as easy and much more to be dreaded now, where both parties are profited and the captain only passive, than, as I said already, where the purser shall not need it and the captain must be forced to ask it

Thirdly, there remains no less remedy provided for his Majesty by muster-masters in this case than now, but rather more, by how much the pursers themselves are become more obliged, by the value of their employments and the ownable ness of their profits, to deal fairly and assist his Majesty as to wages, than they are at present For considering how much the number of each ship's complement is increased as a provision on his Majesty's behalf against the wear and tear of men by sicknesses, runaways, and deaths, that thereby the want of half a score by some of these casualties may not render a ship unserviceable or unsafe, so on the other hand I do not conceive but while the captains are thus freed from needing and prohibited from taking more, the number will by some of these ways be always so much less than full as to furnish the purser with such a livelihood as he will not forfeit by an easy combination

And now, lest it may be reckoned an objection that this practice hath been once laid aside (though the same is as predicable both of this now in being and that also of cheques and stewards, and though you know me too no worshipper of the old say saws of the Navy), yet from the satisfaction I have found in these enquiries I have not omitted to inform myself of the manner of its alteration, and find it arose from nothing more nor less than the (too apposite an evidence perhaps on my side) private displeasure of

friend of ours in the *St Andrew*, about the year 1641, against

Pannell his purser, in suit of which this was thought on as a chastisement for him, and to justify it, recommended to the then Commissioners of the Navy for general observation, from which time it prevailing into a custom continued, till made to give way to stewards and cheques in the last Dutch War

To make an end, if what I have offered be found good in the reason of it, nothing can be admitted into sudden practice with so little tumult as this if not, yet being acquainted in what good part you can receive even errors that are well meant, I am not doubtful of your seeing them, but quite otherwise (since they sprung so seasonably) dare offer you them for a New Year's gift

86 [MS p 354] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY ¹

Greenwich, 2 January, 1665[-6]

* * * * *

I will wait on the Duke of Albemarle to morrow about your proposition of sending down Mr Gauden's money with some flourish to Portsmouth, which cannot but have a good and useful appearance I will then get a sight of your arguments against recalling tickets (on which subject the Duke on Sunday last did very freshly argue with me, but got none of my concurrence, though my Lord Craven ² too was very confident in the expediency of it), and your thoughts about captains' indenting Herewith comes what I have been thinking on some-time on that subject, wherein, I will not dissemble it, I have bestowed more pains than I think I should do again, if sure to come to no better a capacity of giving right judgment in it than I confess I am, however, you have my best

¹ This letter is copied in Pepys's own hand It is a covering letter accompanying his paper about pursers

² The Earl of Craven is several times referred to in the *Diary* Pepys must have come often into contact with him as he was on the Corporation of the Royal Fishery and also one of the Commissioners for Tangier

9 January, 1665[-6]

I hold myself very well paid for the little pains you are pleased to take notice of in my paper about pursers, in that anything in it finds your approval. What my Lord General¹ saith to it you shall know as soon as I have waited on him, which will be I think to morrow.

Pray favour me with a word how his Royal Highness (if his patience ever serves him so far) thinks on't upon his going through it

* * * * *

I am in much pain about the ticket business, and fear their recalling on any terms will soon be repented

* * * * *

89 [MS p 358] S P TO [SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY]

[So I to the office, and anon to the Duke of Albemarle and there got his reference of my pursers' paper to the Board to consider of it before he reads it, for he will never understand it I am sure

It grieved me to see how slightly the Duke do every thing in the world, and how the King and every body suffers whatever he will to be done in the Navy, though never so much against reason, as in the business of recalling tickets which will be done notwithstanding all the arguments against it (*Diary* 10 January, 1665-6)]

11 January, 1665[-6]

We shall to morrow speak with some of the Commissioners of Sick and Wounded that had (the last war) the management of the orphans' money, so on Saturday will clear that matter too, in the mean time we have taken courses to spread the fame of the King's intended bounty

I have turned the business of recalling tickets again and again in my head, and can't imagine how anything can be done [in] it to the seamen's present encouragement, though you should think fit to adventure the evil he will hereafter suffer in the loss of that relief which on some terms or other he now finds

Before yours of the 9th came to my hand, I had attended his Grace the Duke of Albemarle and proposed to him that forasmuch as my paper about pursers is long, and so

¹ The Duke of Albemarle

unfit to be made occasion of trouble to his Grace till it had passed the examination of my fellow Officers and by them be thought worthy his view, I say that I proposed that his Grace would commit it to them first to consider and report their opinion of it, which he consented to by a letter to the Board to that effect, and to morrow we have appointed for our doing it

His Royal Highness's and your own favourable opinion of it is more that I durst promise myself, for I am conscious enough that it is somewhat an uncouth proposition and not as perfect as we might wish, yet I will not disown this fondness to think that it offers us many considerable conveniencies, and not one inconvenience which the present constitution is without

* * * * *

We are entered upon the practice of our new rules for payments, my Lord Brouncker and I having chalked out the Comptroller's books, and method for his people's proceeding therein, and more, I have (to my own disappointment) spared him a clerk I had entertained for my own business of the victualling, one I am sure both can and will do his part, so that if Sir John¹ please and his other clerks will draw alike, I doubt not but his work will be better done As I find the success you shall hear more

* * * * *

[*Postscript*] I shall speedily give you a taste of my office in the victualling matters, though I fear it will be no welcome one unless I can speedily hear Mr Gauden is furnished with the 155,000*l* so peremptorily undertaken to be paid him by the 20th of this month, and whereof I hear not of any but the 14,000*l*] Sir George Downing hath furnished him with out of the Act

90 [MS p 362] S P TO [SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY]

[Home with his Lordship² to Mrs Williams's in Covent Garden to dinner (the first time I ever was there) and there met Captain Cocke and pretty merry though not perfectly so because of the fear that there is of a great

¹ Sir John Menne, the Comptroller

² Lord Brouncker Mrs Williams, who is disrespectfully referred to in the *Diary* was his mistress

encrease again of the plague this week If the plague continues
among us another yeare, the Lord knows what will become of us (*Diary*,
13 January, 1665-6)]

13 January, 1665[-6]

You will doubtless hear from Commissioner Pett an account of some mischief done on board the *Convertine* by negligence of the gunner's crew, part of both decks blown up and 12 men hurt It were well this were well punished

* * * * * *

I pray God the next week's bill¹ set not the Court backwards in the resolution you wish for of coming this way, for we much fear an increase, which (if continued) will go far towards our ruin, and that in no consideration more than from the particular evils that attend the King and Duke's² absence from this seat of business

91 [MS p 363] S P TO [SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY]

[I to the office, and there had an extraordinary meeting of Sir J Minnes, Sir W Batten, and Sir W Pen, and my Lord Bruncker and I, to hear my paper read about pursers, which they did all of them with great good will, and great approbation of my method and pains in all (*Diary*, 12 January, 1665-6)]

16 January, 1665[-6]

* * * * * *

We have had such a mishap at Woolwich by the *Marmaduke's* breaking loose and jostling all she met with, and as will take a great deal of time and labour to make good again I have enclosed you an account of it My brethren hath read over my paper of pursers, and doubly encourage their younger brother, once by a very kind report to the Duke of Albemarle of what he hath done, and then by making it the occasion of their attempting something jointly on the same subject themselves I have for your better satisfaction sent you their report in their own words, as they were pleased to bring it to the Office this morning to be sent to the Duke of Albemarle

A great many little questions was in the belly of that

¹ Of mortality

² The Duke of York.

one in my last about the course of our payments, as how we may preserve his Royal Highness's late instruction in that point at the same time with the method of the Act, as in cases of imprests, small bills, bills of exchange, where a preference in payment is absolutely necessary, and how we may come by a present sum upon an emergency without delay, with several others which you have cleared me in without needing other oracle, though I have this day had much discourse to satisfaction about it with Sir George Downing

* * * * *

[*Postscript*] We are all much saddened at the increase of the plague by 69, and the whole by 110, this week, and myself particularly by the disappointment put on my hopes of having you nearer us. For (as little as I spare you in the number and sizes of my letters), there is a great deal behind (upon my word) for discourse, and necessary stuff too. Be pleased to give conveyance to the enclosed to my Lord Arlington, and (if you please) cast your eye over it first, and forward its being communicated to the Lords Commissioners, for times of sickness require frequent reckonings ¹

92 [MS p 369] S P TO MR JOHN EVELYN

17 February, 1665[-6]

To tell you a little more particularly than I could in the middle of much business this morning my proceeding towards the advancement of your so laudable design of public infirmaries, I did the very next meeting after your honouring me with a copy of your project offer it to my fellow Officers, who concurred instantly with me in the having it presented as the vote of this Board that your said proposition should be laid before his Royal Highness as a matter worthy his Royal Highness's recommending to his Majesty and to be put in present execution

This I did in the name and presence of our whole Board to

¹ This last sentence is added in Pepys's own hand

his Royal Highness at my Lord Treasurer's on Wednesday last,¹ giving him for memory sake the following abstract of your proposal, viz

*Mr Evelyn's infirmary for 500 men*²

	<i>l</i>
1st, to be built and furnished for	1,400
2nd, to be maintained at the monthly charge of	471
3rd, the like number of men stand the King monthly (as it is now managed)	840
4th, which saves the King monthly in each 500 men	370
which is yearly	4,817
And reimburses the King his 1,400 <i>l</i> in 15 weeks	

Besides these additional conveniencies —

(1) The present unavoidable neglect of sick men, through the distance of their quarters, will be removed

(2) They will be kept from intemperance, and consequently from their frequent relapses

(3) Accounts will be more regularly kept

(4) The building will, during peace, serve for a work house or other uses

(5) The clamours of landladies, etc., to the reproach of the service, will be taken away

(6) Lastly, the seamen will more regularly be entered and discharged, and (if recovered) with more certainty be secured for further service

You will forgive me if I omitted any of the considerable advantages intended to his Majesty in this proposal. But these were enough to move his Royal Highness to promise the reminding of his Majesty about it, which he did with great sense of the value of it, and commanded us to speak with you about the method of proceeding towards the doing

¹ ' They set me down at my Lord Treasurer's I staid a meeting of the Duke of York and the Officers of the Navy and Ordnance, my Lord Treasurer lying in bed of the gowte ' (*Diary* 14 February, 1665-6)
² An " Account of and estimates for " Evelyn's ' plan for an hospital at Chatham for sick and wounded seamen " dated 26 March, 1666 is among the Rawlinson MSS at the Bodleian (A 195, 251) See also Evelyn's *Diary* for 20 March, 1666

it, and how we might cast to have another erected about Harwich. If it invari no occasions of yours it might be useful that you would let us see you here on Tuesday morning about 10, where we shall be all together, and perhaps may determine on something to offer to his Royal Highness the next day, when (in course) we attend him. My good will to further what you have with so much pains and goodness intended, will excuse the length of the trouble I now give you

[Up, and to the office; where, among other businesses, Mr Evelyns proposition about publique Infirmariys was read and agreed on he being there and at noon I took him home to dinner, being desirous of keeping my acquaintance with him, and a most excellent humoured man I still find him, and mighty knowing (Dear, 20 Februar, 1665-6).]

93 [MS p 370] S. P. TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY.

17 February, 1665[-6].

Give me leave to trouble you with 2 or 3 small notes. Something I have newly heard from Harwich, tending to what we met with the other day about Portsmouth, makes me think it expedient his Royal Highness would command us to forbid his officers at the yards to become members of the Corporations adjoining. Is it meant the boulder of a 3rd-rate shall have his goblet as big as he of a 2nd? If not, please to ascertain the difference to the rates, the value of the plate given to the *Royal Katherine* was 20! Pray let us have the Duke's order for our paying the last year's 3 muster-masters as the former muster-master hath been. I think verily it might be useful that it were ordered by his Royal Highness what was mentioned and approved of before him at Hampton Court, that no captain's wages should be paid, by imprest or otherwise, before his ship was paid and he had given an account of his performance of his Royal Highness's Instructions in any point [that] should be enquired into by this Board. It would, I think, conduce to the making him more jealous of his own actions and his officers' over whom he is appointed to keep a check, whose miscarriage[s] appear not till the end of the

voyage example, this day's passage of the purser of the *Exchange Merchant, cum multis aliis*

But, Sir, shall we let this year go away too without some amendment settled in the business of pursers, after we have advanced so far, (at least) further than ever before, in having the evils of our present practices thoroughly laid open to us? Or is it that the frauds practicable in the expense of 425,800*l* (for so much this year's estimate of the victualling comes to, and 638,700*l* the wages) are not worthy our preventing, when in the single ship above mentioned, a merchantman, whose complement of men was but 170, and continued in sea victuals but 6 months, and notwithstanding the complaint all the last year that the merchantmen were not $\frac{2}{3}$ manned, (besides the late assertion in defence of the present method, viz that the excess in number of men at one time is levelled by a shortness at another, which will not be found true in one ship in 10 through the fleet), when, I say, in this one ship, besides all the other cheats we are told of, we find 9000 [*sic*] supernumeraries a day above her complement? I cannot dissemble my sense of this neglect of ours, for upon my word it wrings me hard to observe what a dust our penny wisdom will raise now and then, while we can permit the King to suffer under our pound follies, to the hazarding of the whole service (as the state of the fleet from embezzlement and from shortness in victuals in August last too well informed us), and those amongst us best able to lead will neither do that nor follow others in their endeavours to rectify them. Give me leave now to entreat that whereas my Lord Br[ouncker], Sir J[ohn] M[ennes], Sir W[illiam] B[atten], and Sir W[illiam] P[enn] did under their hands promise to the Duke of Albemarle to give his Grace their opinion and advice touching this affair in writing, you would by a word from his Royal Highness put them in mind of what was undertaken, appointing a time for it to be brought in, and if done, I question not but out of that, and what is already before us, something will be collected that will be very useful. If not, I have done

94 [MS p 371] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

[I to my Lord Treasurer's, where Sir G Carteret and Sir J Minnes met me, and before my Lord Treasurer and Duke of Albemarle the state of our Navy debts were laid open, being very great, and their want of money to answer them openly professed, there being but £1,500,000 to answer a certaine expense and debt of £2,300,000 (*Diary*, 19 February, 1665-6)]

19 February, 1665[-6]

Our attending my Lord Treasurer this afternoon amounted to thus much

First, Sir George Carteret's account of bills paid by him between January 1st 1664[-5] and December 31, 1665, were put into our hands to make the best use we can of, and herein he alleges to have paid in imprests in that time 444,555^l and in perfect bills 328,474^l

Next, we received an account of what assignments he owns to be still in his hands undisposed of, and those are

	^l	
In tallies {	struck	128,483
	to be struck	120,000
	Total	<u>248,483</u>

whereof 42,000^l may be expected to be paid within a year, and half the rest no sooner than in two years and most of it two and a half

Thirdly, it was declared by my Lord Treasurer that (the 90,000^l of the moneys advanced on the chimney-farm being but lent the Navy, and therefore to be repaid out of some of the following Navy assignments) all the provision made, as well for paying for past services as for what is to come (be the expense more or less) is but this, viz

	^l	
Sir George Carteret's remains	248,483	
The new Act	1,250,000	
	Total	<u>1,498,483</u>

Lastly, upon his Lordship's declaring this, I had leave given me to tell his Lordship what we have to do with this 1,498,483*l*, viz

To pay the fleet to the first of August last, which by Sir G C's computation will (after the 90,000 <i>l</i> borrowed of the chimney-money is paid away) require more	<i>l</i> 250,000
To pay the yards	33,200
To answer the pressing payments we laid before his Royal Highness the other day, which in most particulars exceed not $\frac{1}{2}$ of what was due	63,525
To pay the Victualler what is due to him on his last year's declaration, which (as he alleges) amounts to	125,000
To enable him to provide victuals on the declaration of the present year for 35,000 men	425,833
To answer the wear and tear, and wages of the like number of men, with the extraordinary and ordinary of the yards, from January 1st, 1665[-6] to November 1st, 1666, together with the charge of finishing 10 new ships and paying press and conduct money, according to our late estimate to his Royal Highness	1,415,318
Total	<hr/> 2,312,876 <hr/>

Which exceeds our stock by 814,393*l*, besides the charge for the sick and wounded, widows and orphans, the Duke's regiment, with the wear and tear and wages of the fleet from November 1st to December 31, 1666, and the wages of all the last year's fleet from August 1st, 1665 (some few tickets excepted) to January last, as also what our debt is to tradesmen, etc, above the 63,525*l* aforesaid, and the whole expense of the Office of the Ordnance for the current year (which also is to be paid out of the 1,250,000*l* Act) I am not conscious of greatening our wants in any particular, nor was anything objected or other reply made to it by my Lord Treasurer than

that he was sorry for it, but had declared the utmost he could do for us,—which I must leave with you to think on

95 [MS p 373] S P TO MR DEANE ¹

8 March, 1665[–6]

I have received your desires about the piece of plate ² and bespoke a flagon for you, which as soon as it is done you shall hear of

For the other part of your letter, I will not dissemble with you because I love you I am wholly dissatisfied in your proceedings about Mr Browne and Mr Wheeler

For the first, you know you were the first man gave me notice of it, and directed me to Wheeler for further information, yet notwithstanding, I have seen a letter of yours to Browne, produced at the Board, wherein you clear him of all guilt, taking it upon yourself notwithstanding Browne himself did confess to us all that which was the occasion of turning him out But, which is worst of all, it will be proved you have called Wheeler “informing rogue,” notwithstanding what I said before, you yourself was the first man occasioned the discovery, and which I reckoned a very good service of you

As for Wheeler’s case, he was but newly certified for by you to be a fit man for the place, and since well reported of Now, all of a sudden, he must be made an idle fellow, an informing rogue, and one fit to be undone, under pretence that his servant was taken with two pieces of slit deal valued by Captain Taylor ³ at sixpence

The man is to me a stranger, and one for whom Mr Waith ⁴ (who you tell me is his friend) nor any person else ever spoke

¹ This letter of rebuke is of special interest in view of the fact that the famous shipbuilder Sir Anthony Deane afterwards became one of Pepys’s most intimate friends

² Probably presented to Deane as the builder of the *Rupert*, a new 3rd-rate launched at Harwich

³ Captain Taylor here is probably Captain Silas Taylor, the new storekeeper at Harwich (see note on p 85 above) Pepys distinguishes him from ‘Commissioner Taylor,’ who is Captain John Taylor, the resident Commissioner of the Navy at Harwich

⁴ Mr Waith was a paymaster of the Navy

one good word besides yourself and Commissioner Taylor, who at this day gives a very good character of him

But as much a stranger as he is, I will not to my power see him suffer for well doing

Mr Deane, I do bear you still good respect, and (though it may be you do not now think that worth keeping) I should be glad to have reason to continue it to you But upon my word, I have not spared to tell the Board my opinion about this business, as you will shortly see by a letter we have wrote to Commissioner Taylor Wherein I have been very free concerning you, and shall be more so if ever I meet with the like occasion The only kindness I have shewn you in it is, that I have not acquainted Sir William Coventry with any part of it, and desire you will give no second occasion of doing it

You know this hath formerly been my manner of dealing with others, therefore cannot wonder upon the like case to find me the same man to you, to whom notwithstanding I wish very well

[At noon took Mr Deane (lately come to towne) home with me to dinner, and there after giving him some reprimands and good advice about his deportment in the place where by my interest he is at Harwich, and then declaring my resolution of being his friend still, we did then fall to discourse about his ship *Rupert* built by him there, which succeeds so well as he hath got great honour by it, and I some by recommending him, the King, Duke and every body saying it is the best ship that was ever built (*Diary*, 19 May, 1666)]

96 [MS p 375] S P TO CAPTAIN TAYLOR,¹ Harwich

13 March, 1665[-6]

In answer to yours of the 8th, I must needs confess to you I did always think, what you therein confess, that you were very suddenly fallen into a faction upon your first coming, and though it was in company with him to whom perhaps I bear as much good will at least as to any other in the yard, yet I was scandalized at it and am still, and to tell you the truth, I did never think there lay so much disobedience or undecency

¹ Captain Silas Taylor, storekeeper at Harwich

charge of the sick and wounded and that of the Duke's regiment for the year current, which I had not till last night. The letter was this ¹

That then which you desired further was, the estimating the value of those particular charges last recited, and said to be unprovided for by money, above the 814,393*l* which the King will be in arrear in the Navy after the 1,498,483*l* (which my Lord Treasurer declared to be our whole stock) shall be spent

The particulars (as they lie in my letter) are valued thus —

The charge for sick and wounded and prisoners estimated by Captain Cock ² for the present year will be	<i>l</i> 55,000
Widows and orphans	6,000
The Duke's regiment, ³ computed at its lowest number of 100 men	10,518
The wear and tear and wages of the fleet from November 1st to December 31, 1666	213,500
Wages of the last year's fleet from August 1st, 1665 to January 1, 1665[-6] (supposing $\frac{1}{2}$ the declaration of 30,000 men to have been paid by tickets) comes to	114,750
Debt to tradesmen above the 63,525 <i>l</i> aforesaid may be valued at about the same sum	63,000
	<hr/> 462,768

The expense of the year for the Officers of the Ordnance, having nothing to guide me by, I have forborne the making any groundless estimate of

Now, Sir, I expect when you shall see that this 462,768*l* added to the 814,393*l* makes the King debtor 1,277,161*l* at the end of this year, above Sir George Carteret's remains of 248,483*l* and the 1,250,000*l* arising from the Act, and besides

¹ This letter is printed on p 120 above

² Captain George Cocke was the Receiver for Sick and Wounded and Prisoners Evelyn (*Diary* 20 December, 1664) calls him 'our treasurer'

³ The Duke of York's regiment, charged on the funds of the Navy, was the origin of the Royal Marines

the whole expense of the Office of the Ordnance, I say, I do expect you will be jealous of my computations But being assured of my lowness therein in many particulars, and not conscious of my over rating any, I cannot think my reckonings are much out, but rather fear the contrary till I am shewn my mistake

I will wait on you in few days for your further instructions

98 [MS p 377] S P TO [SIR WILLIAM BATTEN]

[I by coach home and there to my letters, and they being done, to writing a large letter about the business of the pursers to Sir W Batten against to-morrow s discourse and so home and to bed (*Diary*, 21 April, 1665)]

Navy Office, 21 April, 1666

I had for memory-sake out of my late discourse about pursers abstracted as much as I judged might have come in o[ur] way this afternoon and probably may to morrow at our attending his Royal Highness¹ Give me leave to lodge a copy thereof with yourself to-night

Inquiries previous to the well determining the method of pursers in their issuing of and accounting for his Majesty's provisions with respect to the present proposition of re admitting the ancient practice observed therein, viz

The purser to be obliged to maintain the ship's complement the full time she is by the King victualled for, without allowance, on one hand for what supernumeraries he shall without express order victual above his complement, or being on the other hand denied the benefit of what he shall have saved by the shortness of his number and by that (and other provident ways) lengthened the ship's provisions beyond the time she was by the King victualled for

¹ The meeting with the Duke of York was to have taken place in the afternoon of 21 April but he being to go abroad to take the ayre he dismissed us presently without doing any thing till to-morrow morning' (*Diary*, 21 April 1666)

During the present practice

1 Is not his Majesty's service (as to the continuance of his fleets abroad) too much subjected to the true or false pretences of the purser of want of victuals?

2 Are we not now too frequently disquieted with news of ships being in disorder through the absence of the purser and want of necessities?

3 Are we not now with good reason apprehensive, as well of the King's being abused by false certificates of leakages and damages of provisions where they are not, as of his service being obstructed by the want of his provisions in cases where (by the negligence of the pursers or otherwise) such leakages, etc., really do happen?

4 Can we compute the unsufferable excess of supernumeraries (after so many enlargements of the complement of each ship) to any thing more reasonable than some indirect profit accruing

Upon readmitting the ancient

1 Will it not be much better in that regard to have it become the interest of the purser to keep his ship long abroad?

2 Will not the purser be careful in making a timely and sufficient provision of necessities (they being so essential to the continuance of his ship at sea), and endeavour staying on board for the same reason he now loiters on shore, being the place he can to the best advantage dispose of his provisions?

3 Will not this proposition ease the King of this evil when the preservation of his victuals shall become the purser's proper benefit?

4 Will the purser probably bear supernumeraries without order, to be victualled at his own charges?

to the commander or purser from their victuals and wages?

5 Have we not found some instances, and do we not yet know it to be a practice very easy for the pursers, to keep the same man borne in two ships at the same time?

6 Are we in any degree capable of ascertaining to the King the charge of the victualing part of his naval expense while the charge of every single ship is so little understood as now it is?

7 Is it not easily computable that now the Victualler (what with the eights of bread and beer customarily left behind,¹ and what afterwards he on some terms or other receives back from the purser) buys above a 7th part of the King's provisions at a low rate and issues the same again to the King at his full price?

8 Doth not the present difficulty of passing a purser's accounts (as well on the part of this Office as the purser's) occasion the known backwardness of that part of our work?

5 Will not every purser make it his part to discover this fraud, for the easing himself of the victuals of that man to whom the King pays victuals and wages on another ship?

6 Doth not this proposition offer that which will approach very near a certainty?

7 Will not the purser hereafter strain to carry the utmost of his provisions to sea, and the King allowing the purser 7d per cwt for what he supplies him, above his time, both profit the purser above what the Victualler allows him and conserve to himself an eighth part of the price of the provisions so saved?

8 Will not this proposition make it a desirable thing to the purser, and of greatest facility to us, to pass his accounts?

¹ It was the custom of the purser to leave one eighth part on shore and to receive the value from the Victualler on ground that the necessary money allowed by the provision of wood candles and utensils was not really purpose (see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS*, 1 161)

part of the victuals in money, on the King for the provision sufficient for this

9 Is it not manifest to us that a pursur (with the utmost of his present allowed profits) must be a knave or be undone,¹ or do we find many intelligent persons, honest and able to live otherwise, to seek this employment?

10 Doth that only (pretended) advantage of the present practice, viz casting of the ship book, profit the King anything, while the very merchantmen that complained most and were ever judged to be the worst manned, are found to bear from 800 to 8000 men a day supernumeraries, and all that to the King's loss both in victuals and wages?

11 Are we not now obliged to send muster masters to sea, and that hitherto to very little purpose?

Lastly Are we not now (by the known want of encouragement to pursers) implicitly

¹ Cf *Diary* 22 November, 1665
to have it demonstrated that a pursur without professed cheating is a professed loser, twice as much as he gets "

9 Is it not well remembered that during the ancient practice, pursers were generally men of reputation and estates, able to give the King credit themselves abroad for the continuing forth their ships when the service required it?

10 Will it not be much to the King's profit to be eased of all that overcharge both of victuals and wages, and even of those few men which the ship shall happen to carry short of her number, to be freed from the wages of them also, though not of their victuals?

11 As muster masters will now be no new charge, so may it not be hoped they will be much more able to prevent or discover any frauds in a little shortness in a ship's company than they ever have or can be in preventing or understanding at sea the growth and reason of supernumeraries?

Lastly Is not his Majesty likely to be better used when the pursur may thrive and be

Among other things, it pleased me

under a condition of being abused by them, while their necessities must provoke them to tempt their captains (without whose indulgence they can in no wise subsist) by supporting his table, by concurring in the over-rating his retinue, by accommodating both for victuals and wages of runaways, etc?

honest, when he shall be freed from the necessity of so chargeable a friendship as that of the commander, where the commanders, who are persons of greater honour, must now become the tempters, and lastly, where at the worst the fraud can extend but to the victuals only of a small defect, whereas his Majesty is (under the present practice) equally subjected to the greater wrongs imposed on him by an unlimited excess in the numbers of men both as to victuals and wages?

[Up, and put on my new black coate, long down to my knees, and with Sir W Batten to White Hall There had great discourse before the Duke, and Sir W Coventry begun the discourse of the day about the pursers' business, which I seconded, and with great liking to the Duke, whom, however afterward my Lord Bruncker and Sir W Pen did stop by some thing they said though not much to the purpose; yet because our proposition had some appearance of certain charge to the King it was ruled that for this year we should try another the same in every respect with ours leaving out one circumstance of allowing the pursers the victuals of all men short of the complement I was very well satisfied with it and am contented to try it wishing it may prove effectual (*Diary*, 22 April, 1666)]

99 [MS p 379] S P TO ADMIRAL HARMAN¹

[By and by comes my wife and presently after the tide serving Balty took leave of us, going to sea and upon very good terms to be muster-master of a squadron which will be worth £100 this yeare to him, besides keeping him the benefit of his pay in the Guards (*Diary* 28 April, 1666)]

28 April, 1666

This gentleman the bearer is he whom I acquainted you his Royal Highness hath been pleased to appoint muster-

¹ Admiral, afterwards Sir John Harman was in command of the *Royal Charles* the Duke of York's flagship Pepys's brother-in-law Balthazar St Michel was the recipient of many kindnesses from him, and the cause of frequent anxiety

master of the division under your command I assure you I am not more concerned for him from his relation to me, than from the confidence I have in his sobriety and desire of being serviceable in his place, and moreover in his care of behaving himself with all respect and duty to yourself The favour I beg of you for him is your general countenance and furtherance in the execution of his place, wherein I doubt not after a little trial he will be able to give you and us a perfecter account than at first (from the newness of the method established by the Duke and his own want of use) I can expect The accommodation of a cabin for the better keeping and transcribing of his books (which will be very many) I do further ask of you, and do assure you that as I made it my particular request to Sir William Coventry to [have] him appointed to serve under your command, so also¹ I shall impute his good success in his undertaking to your favour, and accordingly will always acknowledge it

100 [MS p 379] S P TO MR DEANE

5 May, 1666

I have received a book, and letter along with it, from your self The book, which you send me as a present,² I do at your desire accept of and give you my thanks for, and the rather for that I am sure you know me so well as not to think I can be tempted by that or anything else to let fall my dissatisfaction, when taken upon such grounds as I declared in my late letter³ I had done that concerning you I am sorry to find what I then feared prove so true, that now that league contracted so suddenly with a new comer, to the dishonouring of the Commissioner and disordering of the yard, is broken, and you left (how justly I know not) to be the subject on which all the miscarriages of the place is laid by them both What it was that first occasioned my singling you out for my

¹ MS "as"

² This was not the first present that Pepys had received from this quarter "This day one come to me with four great turkies as a present from Mr Deane at Harwich three of which my wife carried in the evening home with her to London in her coach" (*Diary*, 23 December, 1665)

³ No 95 (p 122 above)

friendship you well know, and so long as the same virtues of diligence and good husbandry remain, I will not fail to continue the good offices I ever did you, but truly when they shall be questioned, I shall not dare to be your advocate

I am heartily glad to understand the good proof of your ship,¹ and will rejoice to hear her sailing quality answer to the rest of her good parts. It is not from my late discontent that you have not received your piece of plate, for as I did my part in the getting it granted you so I have a good while since provided it, but want of money hath kept me from fetching it from the goldsmith. But now I am promised the money, I purpose you shall not be long without it

The pains you took about calculating the *Royal Katherine's* draught of water before she was launched² I have laid up carefully, and shall be very glad to have the same, in the manner you propose in your letter, about the *Rupert*, which pray send me, because it is a thing of extraordinary practice and speaks more than what I usually find other builders pretend to, it would be of use to you to send me up a certificate from the master of her that her draught of water was so marked out to them before the 169 tons of shot, guns, etc., were put on board

It is very likely what you desire may be granted about leave to be present at the King and Duke's being on board the *Rupert*

101 [MS p 394] THE NAVY BOARD TO JAMES, DUKE
OF YORK

[Up to the office very betimes to draw up a letter for the Duke of Yorke relating to him the badness of our condition in this office for want of money

So home by water and there hard till 12 at night at work finishing the great letter to the Duke of Yorke against to-morrow morning (*Diary*, 12 May 1666)]

¹ The *Rupert* see p 122 above

² " And then Mr Deane fell to explain to me his manner of casting the draught of water which a ship will draw beforehand which is a secret the King and all admire in him, and he is the first that hath come to any certainty beforehand of foretelling the draught of water of a ship before she be launched (*Diary*, 19 May, 1666)

Navy Office, 12 May, 1666

Though it be our great grief to find ourselves necessitated so often to trouble your Royal Highness with the repetition of our want of money, yet such are the disadvantages his Majesty's service lies under by that want, and such too is the daily growth of those disadvantages, that we dare not but make our tenderness of your Royal Highness's trouble give way to our general duty to his Majesty, in laying our condition yet once more before your Royal Highness, it being now become such as would require a speedy redress did it suffer under no other evil than the loss of so great a part of our time as it occasions, at a season so full of exercise for the whole. For such are our debts, and the clamour arising from them, that not less than half our time is busied either in discoursing with and answering those who come to demand payment for what is past, or reasoning with others as to method of payment before they will be induced to treat with us for any service or commodity for the time to come.

But, may it please your Royal Highness, his Majesty suffers not only under that loss, but the expense of his treasure also increased by the excessive rates we are forced to give for everything his service wants, the merchant resolving to save himself in the uncertainty of his payment by the greatness of his price, while the constant occasions we have for a long time had of exhausting our stores without capacity of giving them proportionable supplies, necessitates us to look out for and embrace almost any bargains we can procure, though at rates ourselves know to be very excessive.

We could trouble your Royal Highness with too many instances of this, but in a matter so displeasing we shall particularize but in one, and that of very late date, viz —

A hemp merchant (that from 60*l* first demanded had fallen to 58*l*, and at last was prevailed with to accept 57*l* per ton), being reproached by us that a private person had very lately bought of the same goods at 49, 10*s*,¹ he immediately replied that he would thankfully exchange the price he had then

¹ *Marginal note* 'Meaning Sir William Batten's trying it so for the rigging of the *Loyal London* which he farmed the doing of of the City

agreed with us for of 57*l* for 49*l* to be paid by ready money, which is 16 per cent difference

We conceive it likewise no slight evidence either of our want of money or the ill effects of it, that in his Majesty's yards, where the constancy of the employment used to make it matter for petition to be employed there, it is now so far from being such as to be reckoned a punishment, so as the workmen are frequently found to neglect and loiter therein in design only to provoke us to discharge them

But there is a circumstance behind wherein this want of money appears as injurious to his Majesty as in any yet mentioned, and that is our inability to execute your Royal Highness's late orders for paying in course, an expedient calculated (and with just hopes of success) for bettering our credits under this dearth of money, while every merchant should be secured in having equal right done to him in his payment to what any other hath had. But so far have we been from a power of acquitting ourselves in the conformity we ought to have paid to these your Royal Highness's instructions or giving the merchant opportunity of understanding his benefit therein, that we have not been enabled to satisfy the debts due before the time your Royal Highness's said instructions were to take place from, but contrarily, have been put to great shifts for small sums wherewith oftentimes to make an hundred or a ten pound payment, even in cases the most pressing, as your Royal Highness (by the weekly troubles you have for a good while had from us) doth too well understand

Now, may it please your Royal Highness, having gone thus far in the mention of the consequences of this lack of money, we shall humbly lay before you something that may serve to the giving your Royal Highness some measure of that lack, and thereby also inform you in the reasonableness of the demand we shall presently come to propose for a supply

Your Royal Highness may be pleased to remember that in a letter of the 6th of February last we did, for the same ends of right informing your Royal Highness and therein also acquitting ourselves, largely lay before you, not only the sum

necessarily to be supplied for the then pressing payments, but also that for the enabling us to go thorough this year's service it would be necessary that the weekly sum of twenty-four thousand, nine hundred, seventy-nine pounds should be provided for the current expense of this Office, besides what should be necessary for payment of seamen's wages, the Victualler, the sick and wounded, and widows and orphans

That we did not at that time make any lavish demand we appeal to our books since, and shall always be prepared to satisfy your Royal Highness and my Lord Treasurer that it was no more than what actually hath been our expense since the first of January What our supplies of money have been since that time (being 19 weeks) have not exceeded (besides what hath been paid in sea wages and to the Victualler) 5,300*l* a week

What then our growing debt is, how much our credit must be impaired thereby, what his Majesty will unavoidably suffer in the excess of prices, how much his service will be obstructed here and everywhere else, and lastly, what the debt of the Navy will be at the close of the year after twelve months increase of 35,000 men's wages, besides the remains of the last year from the first of August, we do hereby humbly beseech your Royal Highness may be timely considered, and that in the mean time you would be pleased to mediate with his Majesty that some effectual and speedy provision may be made for the raising wherewith

To enable us to pay what bills remain at	} 120,000
this day unsatisfied, computed at	
To discharge the debt due to the workmen	} 47,000
in the several yards	
	<hr/>
	167,000

And for the supplying us with a constant weekly payment of 20,000*l* towards the current expenses above mentioned

If this can be obtained, we might hope in some time to recover the lost credit of this Office, and carry on the service thereof with husbandry and dispatch

But if this sum of 167,000*l* cannot be raised, and that it be only expected the service should be gone thorough with under the same disadvantages to itself and the King's treasure as for some time it hath been, we conceive the bare weekly sum of 20,000*l* may enable us to do that. But without this weekly supply, we do in all humility hold it our duty to declare to your Royal Highness that we do not apprehend the utmost of our endeavours (which shall never be wanting) will suffice to preserve his Majesty's service from a speedy and dangerous disappointment

[The original letter was signed by Lord Brouncker, Sir William Coventry, Sir William Batten, Sir William Penn, Sir Thomas Harvey, and Samuel Pepys. The memorandum which follows is signed by Samuel Pepys.]

Memorandum That for the informing myself in the weekly supplies of money this Office hath had since January last, I proposed the following question to my Lord Brouncker, who had particularly concerned himself in examining the Treasurer's weekly returns

Q What our supplies of money since January the first (being 19 weeks) hath amounted unto per week, excluding what hath been paid in seamen's wages, and to the Victualler and the yards?

To which his Lordship under his hand returned me this answer

A There hath not been paid (besides the assignments upon the Chamber of London) above 5,258*l* per week, and those assignments included not above 9,045*l* per week, and but 16,293*l* per week all manner of ways, excepting only what hath been bought or assigned upon the Act. But this hath brought us to be vastly more in debt than we were January the first, 1665-6

102 [MS p 388] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

[Up betimes, and to the office receiving letters two or three one after another from Sir W. Coventry, and sent as many to him ¹ being full of variety of business and hurry (*Diary*, 1 July, 1666)]

¹ Only this one appears in the MS, and it is almost entirely concerned with routine business

1 July, 1666

* * * * *

Sir, I assure you no possible care or pains of mine is or shall be spared or thought much of, having no other regret upon me than that, with more anxiety and as much diligence as I ever yet exercised, I can't dispatch (to my thinking) half so much work as I used to do, so backwardly everything moves

* * * * *

103 [MS p 390] S P TO MR HAYES

7 July, 1666

* * * * *

My last trouble to you is that of recommending to your favour a young man and brother-in law of mine, his name Balthazar St Michell, muster master of the Rear Admiral squadron of the Blue His Grace¹ hath been pleased to give him much of his countenance for the little diligence he hath observed in him in his place, which I hope he will improve I know not whether he hath had the honour of being known to his Highness,² but my request to you for him is that you will give him leave, in any matter relating to his employ, to make his address to you for your advice and assistance

104 [MS p 398] THE NAVY BOARD TO JAMES, DUKE
OF YORK

[Up betimes to the office to write fair a laborious letter I wrote as from the Board to the Duke of Yorke, laying out our want of money again (*Diary*, 14 July, 1666)]

14 July, 1666

Besides the weekly troubles your Royal Highness hath been pleased for a long time to bear with from us, and our complaints for want of money, your Royal Highness will be pleased to remember our written address on that subject, dated the 12 of May last,³ wherein we were bold to lay before you the then

¹ The Duke of Albemarle

² Prince Rupert, to whom Mr James Hayes was secretary

³ No 101 (p 132 above)

think fit, but more especially that they may be transmitted from your hand to my Lord Treasurer, whose particular direction we humbly pray to have in this matter, we neither daring to accept of the proposal without his Lordship's approbation nor being able to perform our part therein without his assistance, nor on the contrary, willing without his Lordship's command to reject it at a time of so much want and expense of that commodity, having no assurance that the merchants of the town do make their customary provision and being ourselves wholly unable by ready money to make a provision thereof ourselves (as heretofore) by our own Commission

We are unwilling to trouble your Royal Highness at present by entering into any other particulars, though pressed on all hands by the multiplied clamours of tradesmen, seamen, widows, and wives for money, of our own officers from ships and yards for stores, which the late engagement hath drained dry in many sorts and sunk very deep in the rest, and lastly, by a near prospect of another engagement and the necessity therefore of repleting our stores, yet everybody refusing to furnish anything but for ready money¹ And shall therefore only add, that as we may take much more confidence in insisting now upon the demand of money thought but reasonable two months since, so we are sure we have much more reason to resume the close of that address of ours to your Royal Highness in May last, and say that without such a supply we do in all humility hold it our duties to declare that we do not apprehend the utmost of our endeavours (which shall never be wanting) will suffice to preserve his Majesty's service from a speedy and dangerous disappointment

[The original letter was signed by Lord Brouncker, Sir William Coventry, Sir John Mennes, Sir William Penn, and Samuel Pepys]

105 [MS p 400] S P TO JAMES, DUKE OF YORK

[Busy very late till midnight, drawing up a representation of the state of my victualling business to the Duke I never having appeared to him doing anything yet and therefore I now do it in writing I now having the advantage of having had two fleets dispatched in better condition than ever any fleets were yet I believe, at least with least complaint,

and by this means I shall with the better confidence get my bills out for my salary (*Diary*, 24 July, 1660)

Up betimes to write fair my last night's paper for the Duke having desired Sir W Coventry to read over my paper about the victualling, which he approves of, and I am glad I showed it him first, it makes it the less necessary to show it the Duke at all, if I find it best to let it alone (ib, 25 July, 1660)

Navy Office, 25 July, 1666

Your Royal Highness having (for prevention of the many and dangerous difficulties his Majesty's service was found subjected to the last year from the frequent want of victuals in the fleet and the unreadiness of our stores in the dispatch of supplies) instituted surveyors in the several victualling ports, and been pleased to place upon myself the inspection and improvement of their several returns in order to the obtaining a constant and ready understanding of the general condition of the victualling affair, I do in all humility hold it my duty to lay shortly before your Royal Highness what hath been the state of that action hitherto this year

Two fleets have been provided for, the former in such plenty as will be found chargeable to the King through the necessary waste made of great quantities of beer, occasioned through want of room in the holds of many ships for the receipt of wounded men, the latter (though conceived the greatest ever yet set forth) dispatched without one day's loss of time, or the least complaint from the fleet or trouble to this Office (more than the releasing of men pressed out of the victualling-vessels), and lastly, with a sufficiency to complete the whole fleet with 4 months provisions to determine the 3rd of October next, so far at least towards it as any commander or purser would own themselves capable of receiving, and that with such satisfaction to the Generals that they thought fit (notwithstanding the heat of the season and the supposed number of supernumeraries) to send back above 200 tuns of beer above 10 days before the departure of the fleet, and leave near 200 tuns more (besides considerable quantities of dry provisions) upon the place at the time of their sailing

Want of necessary advice of the certain quantity of provisions wasted the last engagement, and the numbers of men

108 [MS p 409] S P to SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

Navy Office, 30 October, 1666

I endeavoured to wait on you last night but missed you, and for your sake was almost glad on't, my errand being but to seek some ease to myself by dis easing you with an unnecessary narrative of that ill state of our Office whereof I am sure you are already enough apprehensive

However, something (methinks) should be done by us more than is, in caution against that blame which the ruin of the King's affairs will unavoidably bring upon us if our importunities for money be found to cease before we are either enabled to go through his service by a timely supply or get it declared that we have done enough for our indemnity under the fatal consequences of our want of it

I shall therefore crave leave of giving you half an hour's pain upon this subject before it be too late

* * * * *

109 [MS p 410] S P to MR DEANE

1 November, 1666

Your enclosing that to the Board in mine, and referring it to me to present it to them or return it to you, I thought it would not become my friendship to you to let it go with anything in it which might do you more wrong than advantage, and therefore have returned it you with my opinion that it will be best wholly to leave out the first part, wherein you rip up the Commissioner's old infirmities which the King hath been pleased to forgive, and therefore will be held only as a piece of rancour in you, and at the best cannot avail to the purging of yourself from any fault, though it should revive any ill opinion concerning him It will therefore be most decent for you to begin where I have marked, and then the whole will lie upon the proof of what you both allege, and if all be true which you say, I think you have had more reason to complain and will find as much attention from the Board as he But I (as your friend) do fear you may have forgot now

and then the respect due to a Commissioner, and if that and the foul words laid to your charge be proved, no man that hath any tenderness to the King's service and the discipline necessary to be preserved therein will defend you, nor indeed do I like your defying him so plainly in his skill, his age and experience being better advocates than the best proficiency of any young man, nor although perhaps better grounded in the theory than he, (I) therefore could wish you to express that in some gentler terms, since it is necessary for your defence you say something therein. This I say in kindness.

110 [MS p 413] THE NAVY BOARD TO JAMES, DUKE OF YORK

[Up and to the office, where all the morning. At noon home to dinner, and in the afternoon shut myself in my chamber, and there till twelve at night finishing my great letter to the Duke of York, which do lay the ill condition of the Navy so open to him, that it is impossible, if the King and he minds any thing of their business, but it will operate upon them to set all matters right and get money to carry on the war before it be too late, or else lay out for a peace upon any terms. It was a great convenience to night that what I had writ foul in short hand I could read to W. Hewer and he take it fair in short hand so as I can read it to morrow to Sir W. Coventry, and then come home and Hewer read it to me while I take it in long hand to present, which saves me much time.¹ So to bed (*Diary*, 17 November, 1660).]

17 November, 1666

We are yet once more constrained to become troublesome to your Royal Highness upon that subject on which we have, by your Royal Highness's favour, been so often suffered to importune you, namely, the want of money, and the effects of that want, under which his Majesty's service under our care hath been long sinking, nevertheless, do humbly hope and believe that neither the frequency of our former addresses nor plainness of this will lead your Royal Highness to judge us forwarder in our complaints than becomes us, forasmuch as standing accountable for all miscarriages within the power of our understanding or care to prevent, we find ourselves wholly unfurnished of any other way of acquitting ourselves

¹ It is clear from this passage that William Hewer could both read and write the shorthand ordinarily used by Pepys.

under this difficulty than by a timely and continued declaration of it and its effects to your Royal Highness

Your Royal Highness may be pleased to remember that 63,000*l* ready money, with the weekly supply of 25,000*l*, was in our report of the 6th of February ¹ last represented as a provision absolutely necessary for our going well through with the approaching summer's action

Upon the failure of both of which, and the daily growth of the difficulties arising thence, we laid the same before your Royal Highness in the May following, ² pressing for 167,000*l* ready money and (out of our desire to lower our demand as far as we with safety durst) but 20,000*l* weekly Which likewise proving unsuccessful, we proceeded in July, ³ with all fit plainness, to lay before your Royal Highness particular instances of our ill state, and in all these, as well as at our weekly attendances on yourself (and especially that of late before his Majesty, your Royal Highness, and the Lords ⁴) have from time to time been studious to declare the present and foretell the future sufferings and disappointments of his Majesty's service, but with no better success than that for the 167,000*l* ready money we have missed it wholly, and in lieu of the weekly supply of 20,000*l* have not received 3000*l* weekly ⁵ for three months together past, nor of that above 650*l* per week toward the payment of all our debts for stores spent, or the enabling us to contract for the stores wanting for supply of the whole fleet after a two years' war

What then must be the condition of his Majesty's stores, and the credit of this Office, or its capacity either of building the new ships designed or refitting the old for the service of the next year, although your Royal Highness cannot but already collect in general, yet that you may see how far this lack of money hath diffused itself by its ill effects through every part of the naval service, and by that means judge better of the

¹ "Up, and to the office, where very busy all the morning We met upon a report to the Duke of Yorke of the Debts of the Navy, which we finished by three o'clock" (*Diary*, 6 February 1665-6)

² Letter No 101 (p 132 above) ³ Letter No 105 (p 140 above)

⁴ Presumably the Lords of the Council

⁵ *Marginal note* "viz from August 1st 1666 to November 1st following vide the Victualler's account annexed to this copy"

from the scarcity of many of the commodities we want, or our want of enquiry of the variety of sellers, for our purveyors have been employed and do return us plenty enough of offerers, as particularly for large timber and plank,—Mr Cole, Blackeborough, Morecocke,¹ Barnes, Kingsbury, Lady Culpepper, and others,—but with a peremptory demand of ready money or an utter refusal of treating with us upon any other terms. And if they who (as most of these are) have been acquainted with the sureness though lateness of the King's payment, and are in some measure obliged by the great sums at this day remaining due to them, do decline further serving us, much more must it be expected from strangers, who stand neither under the obligation of the latter nor have been tempted by any convenience from the former. Whereof your Royal Highness may consider as an instance, the coming in of two Sweedes some days since to Portsmouth loaden with deals (a commodity much wanted there), offering them us at 8*l* per hundred ready money, which we not being furnished with to give, they were invited to come about to London, where we must pay for them or the like 11 or 12*l* per hundred, and be moreover at the charge and hazard of sending them hence to Portsmouth.

Secondly, in the timely calling on the tradesmen who, by your Royal Highness's warrant and their own settled contracts, are in a more especial manner engaged to the due supplying of his Majesty with their respective commodities such are the sailmaker, boatmakers, platerers, smiths, plumbers, painters, braziers, blockmakers, turners, and others. But such are our debts to all, and the known inability of most of them to give us further credit, that many have professedly, and the rest by the slackness of their deliveries, declared that without money they must not be further depended on. This made the last new ships (and doth now the present) hang in hand for want of bolts to fasten the timbers as they are brought together. This makes (as Commissioner Taylor writes) the new work of ships repaired to be sent to sea without colour or priming. This makes Mr Pett from Woolwich this day

¹ The first three of these are mentioned in the *Diary*

complain to us that the ships fitted thence are likely to go to sea without, or stay for, scuppers and pipes for the covering of their furnaces, the plumber declaring that without money he can neither supply materials nor men to do them. This makes the smith of Portsmouth and glazier of Chatham and Harwich (notwithstanding the works everywhere in hand) to lie at this day in town under an uncertain expectation of money, and (in a word) puts them all upon desiring us to find some other ways of supplying ourselves, whilst from their example every man else shuns the dealing with us.

Thirdly, in the timely bringing in from his Majesty's forests such goods for which we are not obliged to other disbursement than the charges of transportation. Yet such is our poverty, that in Alce-holt¹ our purveyor hath been forced to come up and attend here many weeks together for money wherewith (according to the Act) to discharge the land and water carriage, and at this time lies idle, as another doth in Sherwood, for want of a small sum ordered him several months since on that behalf, while in the mean time the goods lie there liable to embezzlement and his Majesty's occasions are at a stand here for want of them.

Fourthly, in seeing that as well the workmen at present employed in his Majesty's yards do their full duty, as that where the works require greater dispatch their number be accordingly increased. But on the contrary, we are ourselves sensible in the yards near hand, and do hear it in a greater degree from the Commissioners of the out ports, that through our bad payment many are rendered unable and most disheartened from doing their day's work, Commissioner Taylor particularly telling us in a late letter that many are observed by him daily to spend their dinner-times walking like ghosts in the yard at Harwich for want of knowing whither to go to find credit for food. And when for dispatch we are called on to supply the out-yards with workmen hence, such hath been our failure in supplying them with board-wages for their support in places where (as being strangers) they cannot be trusted, that we find them all endeavouring on such occasions

¹ Alice Holt near Farnham, Hants

to avoid being impressed, or if pressed, adventure the penalty due to their deserting the service rather than be driven to the distresses they understand their neighbours have been that have gone before them And hence it is that, of six score lately pressed for the dispatch of the ships from Chatham and Sheerness, Commissioner Pett writes there had yet appeared but fourteen

Fifthly, in taking care that the charge his Majesty is at in the maintaining extraordinary instruments in the ports of Dover, Kingsale, and Plymouth may be answered by the due supplying and dispatching of such of the ships as happen to come into those ports Which, during the ability of the persons there entrusted to supply us without money, we assure your Royal Highness hath been done in very good manner But so it is that (as in other places) we do there also begin to miss the satisfaction they have formerly given us he at Dover having trusted his utmost, he at Kingsale till (being himself under the protection of his Majesty's service) some of his friends, which were bound for him in his undertakings for the supply of his Majesty's ships, have been in prison on that score now several months, and the 3rd at Plymouth having brought himself under great difficulties from his readiness in trusting us to the import of above 5000*l*, while, to his great discouragement, he complains of our failing him in procuring the reimbursement but of part of his debt out of the oil prize lately brought in thither at the rate sold at to others, or out of the proceed of the said oil and other prizes when sold, although frequently (as at this day) he informs us money lies dead in the hands of the Prize Officer for want of occasion of employing it there and opportunity of returning it hither

Lastly, in looking that his Majesty's officers and seamen on pay while in harbour give their attendance and perform the duty requisite for the safe keeping and refitting of their ships But so much, (from their pretence of lack of pay) all discipline seems to be abandoned, both by officers and common men, that neither can the former command nor will the latter obey, but contrarily, the ships are deserted, the town filled with clamours, and his Majesty's service hindered as well as

dishonoured by both. Hence it is that while 20,000 men are conceived to be yet in pay and unemploy'd, the commanders of the 15 ships now going to Gottenburgh have been forced for some time to employ their officers for the impresting of seamen, and at this day complain of their being unmanned. Hence it is the merchant ships have lain in freight many weeks in the River for want of hands (though the whole company in pay) to bring them up to Blackwall, or being there to deliver them of the King's provisions or stores. In a word, hence it is that captains do not now-a-days spare their confessing their inability to rule their companies, particularly, we this day received it as the request of the commander of the *Bristol* that your Royal Highness might be acquainted with the ungovernableness of his men, who have (it seems) declared one and all to him their resolution of not carrying their ship to sea till the payment of their wages.

Thus have we endeavoured to make plain to your Royal Highness the present posture of his Majesty's naval service, humbly asking pardon for our prolixity therein, as proceeding partly from our desire of your Royal Highness's full information and partly from the grief it brings us to see his Majesty's treasure thus wasted, his service undone, his honour endangered, and ourselves on all hands prevented in giving your Royal Highness an account of our charge suitable to the great encouragements we receive from his Majesty and yourself, and the endeavours we will ever be found to have taken for the advancement of his service. That which remains (may it please your Royal Highness) is, that forasmuch as the ground of all the straits above-mentioned is want of money, and that not to be remedied but by a competent and seasonable supply thereof, we humbly present to your Royal Highness an estimate of the material provisions and their values indispensably necessary to be provided for the refitting the old ships for the next year's service and perfecting the new

An Estimate of the most material Provisions wanting to set out his Majesty's fleet the next spring, and fit the new ships in building

	<i>l</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
Anchors between 32 and 50 cwt, 55	6,757	10	0
Hemp, 1300 tons	72,800	0	0
Sailcloth, 800 bales	16,000	0	0
Tar, 20 last	3,000	0	0
Plank, 4000 loads	16,000	0	0
Long, large timber for beams, wales, etc, } 1000 loads	3,000	0	0
Prussia deals, 3000	2,550	0	0
Ordinary deals, 20,000	1,800	0	0
Oars, 400 dozen	1,800	0	0
Rosin, 50 tons	750	0	0
Oils, 50 tons	1,250	0	0
Brimstone, 12 tons	336	0	0
Large fir timber, 1000 loads	3,000	0	0
Spars of all sorts, 10,000	750	0	0
Boats, tallow, small ironwork, brazery, platory, plumbery, flags, sail-making, founder's work, and turnery ware, with other petty emptions	50,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	179,793	10	0
	<hr/>		

Which 179,793*l*, and what his Majesty and your Royal Highness shall judge necessary to be presently raised towards the satisfying that debt of 954,000*l* we lately reported to the Parliament (wherein, when commanded, we shall be ready to offer our humble advice), are the measures of that supply of money which we in all humility pray may be thought on, before so much more of the winter be spent, as will put it out of the power of money or ought else either to procure what we want (as anchors and hemp), or when procured to work fit for use (as the hemp plank and timber, and most of the other materials above named) All which, with the necessity of a speedy determining the number of men to be declared for

the poor's money in such a manner as not (in case of death) to leave his executors chargeable therewith by anything under his hand, though nevertheless I do not doubt but we shall be able to prove what he hath, or should have, better perhaps than is apprehended. I have not spared to say this to himself, so do not write it to you in any secrecy, for contrarily, I shall repeat it to him shortly once more, and in such a manner as becomes my duty and faithfulness to the poor for whom I am concerned and will see right done to, let who will be offended

115 [MS p 454] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

6 February, 1666[-7]

The bearer is Bagwell,¹ for whom I have once received your favour in his present employment in the *Providence*, and assure you would not appear to solicit for any advancement for him, were I not upon enquiry well satisfied in his activeness, care, and sobriety in his former and present employment. Mr Deane, from his former knowledge and late information concerning him, does approve, and is desirous of him, if you shall think fit, for the carpentry of the new ship he is building, wherein if you are not already pre engaged, I do also add my request, and do believe you will find him a man in whose deportment you will be well satisfied. My confidence in this makes me appear in his behalf, which I therefore hope you will pardon

116 [MS p 458] THE NAVY BOARD TO JAMES, DUKE OF YORK

[After dinner to talk a little, and then I away to my office to draw up a letter of the state of the Office and Navy for the Duke of York against Sunday next (*Diary*, 22 February 1666-7)]

Up betimes to the office, in order to my letter to the Duke of York to-morrow and then the Office met and spent the greatest part about this letter. At noon home to dinner, and then to the office again very close at it all the day till midnight, making an end and writing fair this great letter and other things to my full content, it abundantly providing for the vindication of this Office whatever the success be of our wants of money (*ib* 23 February, 1666-7)]

¹ See p 91 above

us in such manner as it may become of credit to us, we will not despair of giving your Royal Highness an acceptable account of the year's preparations, notwithstanding the little time left us to do it in. But do in most humble manner pray, that it may be no offence for us to declare what we should be most unfaithful in concealing, that without this supply we shall not be able to give your Royal Highness any satisfaction either in the time or manner of our compliance with your Royal Highness's commands and expectations in reference to the dispatching forth of this summer's fleet

Lastly, as to what relates to the victualling affairs, touching the remains of provisions undelivered on the last year's declaration, and what sum of money is necessary to be provided for Mr Gawden for enabling him to go through with this, we do humbly tender to your Royal Highness the account we have received from Mr Pepys on that behalf. And upon the whole, do again become humble petitioners to your Royal Highness that the quality neither of our former nor present demands of money may be imputed to any want of considering either the greatness thereof or difficulties of providing it, but that being instructed from your Royal Highness in what service you expect to have done, we might not, by concealing the wants of what should enable us thereto, be found abusing of your expectations, forasmuch as in the condition we both are and have for a long time been in, we are conscious of an utter incapacity to perform what his Majesty and your Royal Highness seem to look for from us

[This copy is initialled by Pepys only, but it is evidently a letter from the whole Navy Board]

[Up, and with [Sir] W Batten by coach he set me down at my Lord Bruncker's (his feud there not suffering him to light himself) and I with my Lord by and by when ready to White Hall and by and by up to the Duke of York and there presented our great letter. We have discharged ourselves in this letter fully from blame in the bad success of the Navy if money do not come soon to us and so my heart is at pretty good rest in this point (*Diary*, 24 February 1666-7)]

by five distinct remonstrances within the last twelvemonth, namely, by one of the 6 February, by another in May 1666, two more in July and November following, and a 5th of the 23rd February now past and which I had newly read, in every one of which they had taken care, by his Royal Highness's hand, to state to his Majesty

1 The condition of his service as to the work to be done

2 The state of our stores, giving instances of the deficiency thereof, and the stop thereby put to several works then in hand

3 The badness of our credit, and the excess of prices we were forced to give for all we could obtain credit for

4 Our inability, for want of money, to bring in what supplies of woods we had from his Majesty's own forests

5 The despondency and real inability of workmen employed in his Majesty's yards, for want of money wherewith to support themselves

6 The necessity, clamours, mutinies, and ungovernableness of the seamen for want of wages And lastly,

7 The very sums computed which we thought necessary from time to time for the rectifying of all this, and the enabling us to go through with his service And how tender we have been of his Majesty's purse in these our demands, we are so far from needing other testimony than the greatness of our present debt and the continual growth thereof, that we hold ourselves rather blameable for our not exercising more boldness therein, being of a belief that our condition might then at least have been better than it is, if not altogether so good as that of the Office of the Ordnance, whose liberty in demanding is that which have kept them under plentiful supplies of money, so as at this day (as it is reported) to have a considerable remain of stock in their hands while we are under utmost distresses for want of a sufficiency

Having said this, I declared to his Majesty that none of the demands of money we have at any time made have either in quantity or time been answered, but as we have failed of the first, so in reference to time we have always been supplied so imperfectly as never to be able to make one general pay, either of tradesmen, yards, or ships, nor wherewithal to answer any

for them by ordering that from time to time what money shall be procured on their behalf may be applied to the satisfying their oldest bills, which my Lord Treasurer and Sir George Carteret declaring not to be practicable by the letter of the Act, and that his Majesty's learned counsel had so determined it, I made bold to say that though by the letter of the Act debts contracted before the passing of the Act could not be immediately assigned into the Exchequer, yet that they might be satisfied by what money should in general be assigned to Sir George Carteret for the use of the Navy, wherein his Majesty and Royal Highness were pleased so far to concur (my Lord Treasurer and Sir George Carteret offering no reply) that his Majesty did declare that Sir George Carteret might and should out of the moneys assigned to him pay without distinction the old bills as well as the new, provided they come all within the compass of the Dutch War

3 I then discoursed of the greatness of the prices we are against our wills obliged to give for all we can obtain credit for, and, as one instance among others, shewed him that for the two sloops his Majesty hath directed to be built for the service of Guernsey and Jersey, and which he hath so often particularly enquired after, the builder (at Portsmouth) offered to build them for 130*l* each ready money at the 3 usual times of payments, and refused 200*l* to be paid by bill

4 Next, I proceeded to tell his Majesty what delay in his works we are forced to bear with, not only in the ships repairing in merchant yards (most of which lie 3 times longer than either they need or would, in case we had money) but also in his own, where we know the condition of the workmen to be such that through want of money to support themselves and families they are not able to do their labour, nor have the smiths wherewith to buy iron or coals nor other provisions which they want, so that we are very apprehensive, if the weather should be open, that the enemy may be abroad and block up the River before these ships, which his Majesty hath intended and ordered to several stations out of the River, will be in condition of going

5 Then, as to the backwardness of seamen in returning to

the service, I gave an account how captains complain of the difficulties they meet with in finding any, and a greater in keeping them when they have them, insomuch as even for the few small ships now going out men are not to be had And then for the clamours and violences of the seamen here in town attending their pay, forcing open our office doors and laying hands on our officers, their unruliness everywhere and disobedience to command, and lastly, their scandalous begging up and down streets, I said to be such as his Majesty could not but have abundantly heard of

Lastly, I observed that as our reports heretofore have in no degree failed, but contrarily, proved too true by a continual growth of all the evils we have at any time apprehended, so I prayed leave to beseech his Majesty to look forward with regard to what the consequence would shortly be of those evils when grown bigger, which are already come to that degree of reproach and disappointment to his service that hath been now declared

Yet I observed that there remained an evil behind of much worse report than all that hath been yet spoken of, namely, that under all the mischiefs, disappointments, and scandals attending his service, there seems not to be reserved to his Majesty a power of blaming any of us his Officers, forasmuch as the want of money seems a plea that will, we presume, be admitted for good before the severest enquirers

Therefore in the name of my fellow-Officers I had it humbly to beseech his Majesty that he would be pleased, by a competent and seasonable supply of money, to make us accountable for miscarriages, and divest us of that pretence which the knowledge of our being always furnished with may some times, I fear, tempt us to neglects And in confirmation hereof for my own part, though I have much reason to hope his Majesty and Royal Highness have been pleased to think me as willing to take pains in their service as any man, I will not deny but the consideration of the many backwardings and hindrances imposed on us in all we have to do, hath made me many degrees less useful to his Majesty than when other things concurred to make my pains successful

I concluded with an humble prayer to his Majesty that he would again be pleased to consider that these evils do daily grow bigger, and would some time or other amount to the occasioning an utter rupture in all his business, and that though perhaps we may struggle out the present year by the help of the great ships staying at home, thereby lessening the expense of victuals, wages, and stores, and the furnishing us towards the fitting out of the smaller ships, yet another year will succeed when (whereas we are now reduced to our 3rd and 4th rates) we shall not be able to set forth our 5th and 6th rates That therefore the sum of money we demanded for our subsistence this year (besides a providing for the work of the next) may neither be laid aside nor delayed

118 [MS p 471] THE NAVY BOARD TO JAMES, DUKE OF YORK

[So with [Sir] W Pen home (he being at the play also), a most summer evening, and to my office, where, among other things, a most extraordinary letter to the Duke of York touching the want of money and the sad state of the King's service thereby, and so to supper and to bed (*Diary*, 30 March, 1667)]

Navy Office, 31 March, 1667

It is with utmost regret that we are forced to give your Royal Highness such disquiet as we have for a long time together done in the matter of money, especially after our having so lately, by letter of the 23rd of February last ¹ and our personal address to his Majesty and yourself at my Lord Treasurer's the 14th instant,² declared our condition, and the necessity of our being supplied with forty thousand pounds per week until the five hundred thousand pounds (concluded at the same time by his Majesty necessary to be provided for us) should be completed But that which occasions this so speedy return of our complaint to your Royal Highness is, that of that small sum of thirty and odd thousand pounds said to be allotted out of the Poll Bill for this Office, and to have been in readiness for our disposal five weeks since (and which accordingly was then distributed by us by particular

¹ See p 157 above

² See p 162 above

assignments as his Majesty's service most required) not one penny is yet paid. Insomuch that we have not only missed of the reparation we expected to have gotten to our credits by this ready sum, but have put ourselves further backward (we fear irrecoverably) in the esteem of those few whom our promises (built on the presumption of this money) had once more prevailed with to trust us a little farther.

As this practice of ours (may it please your Royal Highness) of persuading persons to the parting with their goods on promise of money (when at the same time we are conscious of our incapacity to perform them) is in itself both scandalous and grievous to us, so the considering of how ill consequence it is to his Majesty's service in general, though it may speed us for one single pinch, enforceth us humbly to crave your Royal Highness's pardon that we beg to be relieved therein by more certain supplies of money. For that your Royal Highness may see by fresh instances the success of such our forced dealings and the posture his Majesty's affairs are at this day in, be pleased to know that the dispatch of the ships, both in this River, at Portsmouth, Harwich, and more particularly the chain and boats at Chatham and the furnishing Sir Jeremy Smith's¹ fleet with ketches, are at this day at (or next to) an utter stand for want of money. And to be yet more clear, we crave leave to communicate to your Royal Highness some such particulars as we dare not mention but to yourself, namely, that we have not credit left us for procuring lead for covering of a furnace, but have been forced to melt our very weights to answer that occasion with. For want of broom we are reduced at this day to the emptying of our tar cask for the getting their staves for firing, and in our want of rosin for graving of ships are put to the paying them with pitch, and to boil up tar ourselves even for the supplying that occasion with pitch. Oil we have been lately forced to give 33*l* per ton for, and would yet be glad to have a farther supply thereof at the same price, while his Majesty's own was sold at Plymouth for 20*l* and 22*l*, after our repeated

¹ In 1667 Sir Jeremy Smyth was in command of a squadron in the North Sea.

desires and a promise of a supply of fifty tons thereof for his own use. The smith's works everywhere fail us, and at Harwich particularly not a bolt to be had for the new ship, the smith's shop there having been wholly shut up this week.

Our regard to your Royal Highness's trouble, and knowledge of the sense your Royal Highness already hath of this our ill state, is the reason of our adding no more, but our want of relief (after so many addresses) giving us reason to fear lest our difficulties may not have appeared to others so great as they indeed are and we from time to time have represented them, we durst not but lay before your Royal Highness these few, and do therefore in most humble manner implore your Royal Highness's pardon for the same, and the considering of some instant means of removing these present, and preventing the yet greater evils which the want thereof must inevitably draw upon us.

[The original letter was signed by Lord Brouncker, Sir John Mennes, Sir William Batten, Sir William Penn, and Samuel Pepys.]

[Up, and with Sir J Minnes in his coach, set him down at the Treasurer's Office in Broad-streete, and I in his coach to White Hall, and there had the good fortune to walk with Sir W Coventry into the garden, and there read our melancholy letter to the Duke of York, which he likes. So away we to the Duke of York, and there in his closett [Sir] W Coventry and I delivered the letter, which the Duke of York made not much of, I thought, as to laying it to heart as the matter deserved, but did promise to look after the getting of money for us, and I believe Sir W Coventry will add what force he can to it (*Diary* 1 April, 1667).]

119 [MS p 480] LETTERS READ TO JAMES, DUKE OF YORK,
3 APRIL, 1667

[By and by up to the Duke of York, where our usual business and among other things I read two most dismal letters of the straits we are in (from Collonell Middleton and Commissioner Taylor) that ever were writ in the world, so as the Duke of York would have them to shew the King (*Diary*, 3 April, 1667).]

Memorandum That the present business of the Office being to advertise his Royal Highness of the daily growth of the inconveniences attending the service from the want of money,

Part of Commissioner Taylor's letter of 2 April, 1667

The *Tiger* is on ground, great sufferings and great delays is occasioned by [the] smith's shop being shut up, two ships are gone out with furnaces unfitted and divers wants, *Tiger* cannot stir, nor *Elias*, nor *Truelove*, nor new ship go on till [the] smith come And not a brick nor tray of mortar in stores to mend the furnaces The bricklayer is come down, saith he hath paid 30 in the hundred for his money at London, and will neither serve in brick or lime without money, or a personal promise for his payment About this I pray your direction (a little money may set and mend $\frac{1}{2}$ a dozen furnaces) whether shall I pay for so much as may serve at present out of the money you assign into my hand You cannot but remember the necessity of the labouring men here I would not mention them so often but that their daily calling on me compels it

The bricklayer offers if you will imprest to him 40^l he will serve into stores 100^l worth as we have need of it

The *Pearl* at this time stays here only for want of 8 or 9 small bolts I have offered another smith to pay ready money for them, but 'twill not be done, and the captain will not willingly move without, they being for his capstan whelps¹ and cats to fasten them A smith send, or else, etc

Part of Commissioner Taylor's letter of 4 April, 1667

I am now sorry I have laid out so much of my own money to buy the beams, and I am more sorry to see men really perish for want of wherewithal to get nourishment One yesterday came to me crying to get something to relieve him I ordered him 10s He went and got hot drink and something to help him, and so drank it, and died within two hours

Part of Commissioner Middleton's letter of 7 April, 1667

I have pulled down one chimney to fit the ship's furnaces and hearth, pray let me know by your next whether I shall

¹ Whelps are the brackets or projecting parts which rise out of the barrel or main body of the capstan to enlarge the sweep See Smyth, *Sailor's Word-Book*

pull down the chimney in the yard or the brick wall, for it is better that the chimney and wall be all down than that the ships should be continued here for want of money to buy brick, without which they cannot be fitted

121 [MS p 483] LETTERS READ TO JAMES, DUKE OF YORK,
17 APRIL, 1667

[Up, and with the two Sir Williams by coach to the Duke of York who is come to St James's, the first time we have attended him there this year (*Diary*, 17 April, 1667)]

This was in like manner shewn his Royal Highness, April 17, 1667, at our weekly attendance on him

Part of Commissioner Taylor's letter of 11 April, 1667

I am troubled to see and hear what strange clamours and speeches fly abroad, and how reflective they are upon the Navy Office upon this account, because here comes down a committee with ready money, some thousands of pounds, have been here about 8 or ten days and paid off all arrears and debts to Lady Day last for the quarters of sick and wounded, and all officers and incident charges clear off, and also money is daily paid to soldiers, carts, carriages, timber, deals, and all materials before our men's faces, who will not be made sensible that anybody moves for them Very many absent themselves for relief abroad, our work cannot go on cheerfully except a supply of money comes

April 17, 1667 We read a letter of Commissioner Middleton's to his Royal Highness of the 14th, wherein he gives account of ships staying in port at 10^l per day charge for want of 30s to set them to sea

122 [MS p 489] ABSTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE TREASURY TO THE NAVY BOARD
Abstract of the Letter from the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, dated May 30, 1667, to this Office, directing us

I To send them with all speed an account (as exact as we can) of the expense of this Office from the King's Restoration to the 25 May, '67

the same with what will appear he ought to have received. And it will not be amiss, I judge, while it is in my memory, to tell you that in the discourse we had yesterday about it he told me (as near as I could remember and set it down as soon as we parted)

That the sum he stands accountable for to the Chest is about 5,400*l* ;

That the sum by him paid to the Chest in buying off of pensions sent by the Governors to him to that end is about 3 700*l* ;

That the sum he hath paid the Governors in money is 1,500*l* ;

That the sum remaining in his hands is (I take it) about 294*l*

One thing more he told me which I was g^d to hear, namely, that the sum paid by him in buying of pensions hath cut off as much charge to the Chest as I think he said amounted to 1,234*l* per annum.

To my question whether he had not some time thought fit to forbear the owing to you so much money in hand, he answered that he had thought it requisite to do so, to prevent any over-readiness in you to dispose of it upon knowing your utmost stock, which puts me in hopes that for the same reason he may do so still, nor will I despair of it till I see an account made up and balanced. . . .

124 [MS p 491] S P to Sir William Coventry

[When it grew too dark to read I lay down and took a nap: being a most excellent fine evening and about one o'clock got home and after having wrote to Sir W. Coventry an account of what I had done and seen (which is entered in my letter-book) I to bed (Dear, to just 1667)

11 Jan^y, 1667

I went down as our letter to you to Worcester, in order to the dispatch of the *Golden Hind* — was finding not yet come thither, I conferred with the officers about the wages, &c.

etc, ready against her coming, and so went down to Grays¹ and took care for her coming up this tide, which she is, and will be gone in hand with early in the morning

Having some of the tide of ebb left, I bestowed it in going down to Gravesend, where I found them at some ease, the Dutch being fallen down again this noon, and by the report of a small Ostend man-of-war (come up while I was there) they were below the Nore² when he met them. They took from him 3 ships which he came convoy to from Ostend. They are commanded by Van Gent, and in number 26 men-of-war and 4 fireships. Some poor houses and stacks they have burned in Candy Marsh,³ and a house or two at Lee, but were thence repelled by the country.

The offal of some muttons drove up the River the last flood shews what they had been doing. Most of their fleet came as high as Shell Haven about a mile below the Hope,⁴ and 2 or 3 to within the Hope, some of them judged to have 60 or 70 guns apiece.

During my being at Gravesend I heard distinctly great guns play below, and at my coming away Sir William Jennings⁵ and the commanders were going on board by the Duke of Albemarle's order to bring up their ships and place them in a line thwart the River between the forts.

I met several vessels in my going down loaden with the goods of the people of Gravesend. Such was their fright.

125 [MS p 493] S P TO VISCOUNT BRONCKER, Chatham

[Thence to the office, and did write to my Lord Bruncker to give me a little satisfaction about the certainty of the chain's being broke, which I begin to doubt, and the more from Sir W Pen's discourse. It is worth while to read my letter to him entered in my letter book (*Diary*, 1 July, 1667)]

1 July, 1667

The disturbance I gave your Lordship so late last night was too great to admit of my troubling you then with anything

¹ Near Tilbury

² MS "Nower"

³ Probably Canvey

⁴ The Thames anchorage just below Gravesend

⁵ Sir William Jennens was in command of a division of small ships collected for the defence of the Thames (*DNB*, xxx 319)

To his Royal Highness James, Duke of York, Lord High Admiral of England, etc, the Humble Petition of Samuel Pepys, Clerk of the Acts of his Majesty's Navy,

Sheweth

That your petitioner, submitting to your Royal Highness's consideration his constant endeavours in the service of his Majesty during the late War, having upon no consideration of profit, pleasure, or health (during the Plague) departed one day or night from the place and duty of his office from the beginning of the War to this day, and being encouraged hereto from his Majesty's and your Royal Highness's most gracious declaring to your petitioner (at Hampton Court and since) your well liking of your petitioner's said service,

He in most humble manner prays that, being the only person serving his Majesty in this Office who hath not yet participated of his Majesty's bounty since the War, your Royal Highness would be graciously pleased to be his remembrancer on that behalf for the obtaining him his Majesty's grant of the *Maybolt Galliot*, prize

And your petitioner shall ever pray, etc

October 7th, 1667

[Up, and by water to White Hall, and thence walked to St James's, and there to Mr Wren's, and he told me that my business was done about my warrant on the *Maybolt Galliot*, which I did see, and though it was not so full in the reciting of my services as the other was in that of Sir W Pen s, yet I was well pleased with it, and do intend to fetch it away anon (*Diary*, 14 October, 1667)]

128 [MS p 502] S P TO COMMISSIONER PETT ¹

[And here after the Hall pretty empty, I did walk a few turns with Commissioner Pett, and did give the poor weak man some advice for his advantage how to better his pleading for himself, which I think he will if he can remember and practise, for I would not have the man suffer what he do not deserve, there being enough of what he do deserve to lie upon him (*Diary*, 23 October, 1667)]

¹ Peter Pett, the resident Commissioner of the Navy at Chatham, had been regarded as responsible for the disaster in the Medway and on 18 June he had been sent to the Tower. It was afterwards recognised that he was only a scape-goat, and although he was dismissed from his office the charges against him were allowed to drop.

Up, and down to the Old Swan, and so to Westminster, where I find the House sitting, and in a mighty heat about Commissioner Pett, that they would have him impeached (to 13 November, 1667)]

16 November, 1667.

It is not from want of good will, but for reasons that I am sure you will be abundantly satisfied with (when you hear them), that I forbear to visit you at your desire by Mr Whitfield. But if you do know anything within my power to do to you service that is justifiable for me, I assure you I will not think much of my pains night or day to serve you. Wherefore if Mr Pett your son, or Mr Whitfield, bring any commands from you, I shall most readily embrace them, as well as execute them with all kindness to you and faithfulness to my place

129 [MS p 510] S P TO SIR THOMAS HARVEY¹

4 December, 1667

Your letter this morning to the Board touching want of books and hands to provide them finds nobody at home but myself, who as I am wholly unaccountable for the former so am I the least able to assist you in the latter, having never wanted more work to do of my own than all my hands could dispatch in thrice the number of hours which I find everybody else thinks fit to bestow upon the King's business. This failure in the business of books is a matter of infinite reproach to us as well as damage to the King, but now to help it, otherwise than by inculcating it to the Board and to them that should take the care of it (which I have daily done) I know not, but must expect the just issue it will soon or late have to them on whom the blame shall rest.

130 [MS p 510] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

4 December, 1667

Your not having observed (yesterday morning) our answer to your late query about the sum which will be due to this

¹ One of the Commissioners of the Navy

year's fleet the last of this month (which is computed in my Lord Brouncker's last account of the 24 November) makes me fear you had not observed neither the unhappy mistake in his 3 or 4 last preceding accounts wherein, by an oversight of one of his clerks, the present growing charge was represented 3600*l* per week less than indeed it was, which my Lord happened not to discover till the last account, in which he rectified it, and told me he would make it his business to give you particular satisfaction in the occasion of it. The query you made about the payment of your quarter bill led me at my coming home to see how matters stood with this Office in that point, and I find little unpaid besides my own, who as I have always been willing to come behind in that particular so have I 500*l* at this time unpaid me of my salary. My Lord Brouncker I observe to have had his very last quarter's bill paid the last week, and Sir Thomas Harvey for 2 quarters also. So that I think it will not be scandalous for me now to look after getting something paid myself, and if you please to command me, will look after yours, at least I thought it not amiss to let you know how it stood with us in this particular.

131 [MS p 511] S P TO SIR ROBERT BROOKE ¹

[To the office, and thence before noon I, by the Board's direction, to the Parliament House to speak with Sir R. Brookes about the meaning of an order come to us this day to bring all the books of the Office to the Committee. I find by him that it is only about the business of an order of ours for paying off the ships by ticket. (*Diary* 19 November 1667)]

I laboured till nine at night, in drawing up the history of all that hath passed concerning tickets, in order to the laying the whole, and clearing myself and [the] Office, before Sir R. Brookes (*ib*, 24 November, 1667).

I told Sir W. Coventry of my letter to Sir R. Brookes and his answer to me. He advises me in what I write to him to be as short as I can, and obscure, saving in things fully plain, for all that he do is to make mischief, and that the greatest wisdom in dealing with the Parliament in the world is to say little and let them get out what they can by force. which I shall observe (*ib*, 3 December, 1667).

Home again, and there to my chamber, and all alone did there

¹ Sir Robert Brooke, of Cockfield Hall Suffolk. Pepys says that he was "held a considerable person, of a young man, both for sobriety and ability" (*Diary*, 8 December, 1667).

draw up my answer to Sir Rob Brookes's letter, and when I had done it went down to my clerks at the office for their opinion, which at this time serves me to very good purpose, they having many things in their heads which I had not in the businesses of the office now in dispute (*ib*, 9 December, 1667)]

10 December, 1667

An unwillingness to leave you unsatisfied in any part of your demands of the 28th of November hath (as I intimated in mine of the same date) made what I had of my own stay for what I was to learn from others Which having obtained this day (and not sooner), I shall now apply myself to the giving you as satisfactory (yet, for your ease, as succinct) an answer as I am able to each of your enquiries, and that in the order and terms they lie in your letter

1 Whether the Principal Officers and Commissioners of the Navy were not solely entrusted with the payment of the fleet?

Answer That upon the Lord High Admiral's declaring (and not before) that, the service of this or that ship being ended, she is to be paid, the management of this pay is entrusted to the Principal Officers and Commissioners of the Navy generally, and in particular to the Treasurer and Comptroller

2 When whole ships were first discharged by ticket, and who did it?

Answer The first ships discharged by this Office were (to the best of my recollection) some of the merchant men of war employed in the year 1665, of which about 14 were thus discharged in December in that year by order of this Office

3 Whether I believe when this was first enterprised the want of money was so great as to necessitate this unhappy way of payment?

Answer If by want of money your intentions be it's not being supplied to this Office, I do not only believe but know it, and so know it as to wish (for the King's sake more than the justification of this Office) that it were less demonstrable

4 Whether I know or have ever heard that 1st and 2nd rate ships were wholly paid off by tickets in harbour, or

any other, although the men were removed from one ship to another?

Answer I have not

5 Whether the *Loyal London* and *Royal Charles's* tickets were (according to our order of the 17 December 1666) really paid on the 2nd of January, and whether the *Sovereign's*, *Royal James's*, *Royal Katherine's*, *Old James's*, and *Rainbow's* were paid on the Friday mentioned?

Answer Commissioner Pett (who had the management of it) not being in condition at this time to make any perfect answer to it, I have applied myself for information therein to a clerk of my Lord Brouncker's who attended the Commissioner in the doing it, who does assure me, and undertakes to justify it, that to all that came for it their money was paid upon the precise days appointed by our orders

6 What orders we have made for the dispatch of seamen without charge in the examining of their tickets, and the methodical course for their payments, as also what declarations have been made for preventing of ticket brokers?

Answer Besides what may further occur upon a more leisurely review of my books, I have enclosed you copies of a dozen of such orders as have been made by this Office on these subjects

7 What hath been the occasion which rendered those orders fruitless?

Answer The particular business of my own office (as I have observed in my former) finding me such employment as to keep me uninterested during the whole War in the management either of the tickets or payments of seamen, I cannot (knowingly) either assert the good or render account of the ill success of those orders, whose execution was in the care of others

If in any of these points (wherein my own office and knowledge serves me) you find not so full answer as you desire, pray let it cost you no further care than to tell me the defects, for I may fail in the method but never in the truth of anything I shall offer you

132 [MS p 516] S P TO CAPTAIN DEANE, builder at
Harwich

14 December, 1667

I could not sooner congratulate you in the safe launching of your new ship ¹ and the satisfaction you receive in her condition and beauty, as well as the further proof you have in this ship received of your art in foretelling her draught of water light, and I will not fail to watch how she answers your calculation in her draught of water when fitted and manned, victualled, and furnished for sea with guns, etc

I have had a fine plat prepared some time for you to spend your leisure upon as soon as I can find opportunity of sending it you

I did not doubt but to have got your mind satisfied about your piece of plate, to have had it a dish as you desire, but upon proposing it to the Board they say that the custom in all cases of this nature hath always been to have it a bowl or some drinking vessel, with design at the drinking his Majesty's and Lord Admiral's health at the launching of the ships, and that it is not convenient to alter an old practice So that you must be contented to think of some drinking vessel, of what fashion you please, and it shall be provided for you

133 [MS p 517] S P TO JAMES, DUKE OF YORK

[Thence I home, and there to my office and wrote a letter to the Duke of York from myself about my clerks extraordinary which I have employed this war, to prevent my being obliged to answer for what others do without any reason demand allowance for and so by this means I will be accountable for none but my own, and they shall not have them but upon the same terms that I have which is a profession that with these helps they will answer to their having performed their duties of their places So to dinner, and then away by coach to the Temple and then for speed by water thence to White Hall and there to our usual attending the Duke of York, and did attend him, where among other things I did present and lodge my letter, and did speed in it as I could wish (*Diary* 27 December, 1667)]

¹ The *Resolution* a 3rd-rate built by Deane at Harwich in 1667

27 December, 1667

Upon a late motion of the Officers of the Navy for your Royal Highness's warrant for their allowance of wages to such extraordinary clerks as they have entertained during the War in order to the better enabling them to carry on his Majesty's service under their care, your Royal Highness was pleased to direct that we should each of us for himself give you an account under our hands what clerks we have accordingly employed extraordinary In obedience to this your Royal Highness's command, I humbly acquaint you on behalf of myself that for the executing of my particular office as Clerk of the Acts I have been forced from the beginning of the War to this day to employ two clerks extraordinary, the daily attendance of whom, and an account of their particular performances in his Majesty's service, I have so strictly exacted that, as I do wholly disclaim the benefit of pleading want of help in case upon examination any part of my particular duty be found undone, so I shall be contented to be denied now or refund hereafter whatever part of his Majesty's allowance towards this charge shall be thought fit, if either now or hereafter it shall be found that fewer hands might have done my work

But I am to add that, out of my endeavours to save his Majesty what charge I could, I did make use of one of the persons employed in the victualling affair (then under my inspection) to assist me in the business of this Office also for the same salary, so that he is satisfied until November last, at which time his victualling employment determining, I am from that time obliged to satisfy him after the rate of 50*l* per annum, and the other from October 1664 (for whom no more is expected than the usual allowance of thirty pounds per annum) until such time as the remains of the work occasioned by the War and the new increase of work brought upon my Office by the Parliament shall give way to their being discharged

Memorandum Presented and read to the Duke of York
December 27th present, Lord Brouncker, Sir William Penn,

Mr Wren,¹ and myself, and the rest directed to bring in their like demands in writing

134 [MS p 524] VISCOUNT BROUNCKER AND S P TO THE
GOVERNORS OF THE CHEST

6 February, 1667[-8]

This is to convey to you an account lately delivered to us for your use by direction of my Lady Batten, administratrix of Sir William Batten,² containing, as the title declares, an account of the money by him received upon the extraordinary Chest, and how the same hath by him been expended, touching which in general we do, in pursuance of the trust incumbent on us as Supervisors of the Chest for the present year, give it you as our opinion that it will be requisite that you commit it to some able hand forthwith to examine the said account as to the truth of the charge and the justifiableness of his discharge, wherein what assistance we can by any authority of ours, or any accounts or papers lodging with us, give him we shall readily do it, and unless you know any person more proper, we hold Mr Burroughs very able to do it, and by his present relation to the service of the Chest more concerned to attend it than any other

Next, we think ourselves obliged to take notice of two particulars demanded in the account which we can by no means think reasonable in the demanders nor justifiable for us to allow, namely the 6*d* per pound demanded by the paymaster amounting to 112*l*, and 500*l* by Sir W Batten himself in consideration of his pains We are sorry this seeming ill office was left to us to do after the death of Sir W Batten, but you well knowing what endeavours were used by us in his lifetime to the obtaining a state of this account, and how he to the time of his death did avoid the giving of the same, we doubt not but we shall be held excusable by all the world in our not making these exceptions sooner We shall not

¹ Matthew Wren had succeeded Sir William Coventry as Secretary to the Duke of York

² Sir William Batten, the Surveyor of the Navy, died 5 October, 1667

disagree to the allowing Sir William Batten whatever charges shall appear to have been occasioned to him by this work, and therefore we except not against the other allowance demanded by him on that score, but for this reward of 500*l* to himself, we do again declare ourselves totally unsatisfied therewith, it being a work taken upon him with profession during his whole life of doing it in charity for the Chest, without any the least intimation in all his discourses of anything of profit expected by him for the same, wherefore unless you can inform us in anything (not appearing to us) for the rendering this demand reasonable, we desire that both it and the 112*l* to the paymaster may be expunged, or left to the Lord High Admiral to determine in

135 [MS p 527] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

[Up, and by water to Charing Cross stairs, and thence to W Coventry to discourse concerning the state of matters in the Navy (*Diary*, 26 February, 1667-8)]

26 February, 1667[-8]

Upon my coming home, I find that my former enquiries touching perquisites related only to the officers of the yards and not those of ships, who I find upon the rise of their wages (I mean boatswains, gunners, and carpenters) in the last Dutch War were thereby wholly (in express terms) cut off from any pretence to perquisites

But, Sir, that which is truly to be urged touching them is, that by their salaries thus increased, their having one (and for the most part without wrong to the King, two) servants, their being put to no charges of carrying and attending the receipt and delivery of their stores as pursers are, and lastly, their having opportunity of 1 or 2 tons stowage of private trade wherein honestly to turn a penny abroad, they have a very fair livelihood of 50*l* per annum and more, from the 4th rate upwards

As for pursers, it is true their salaries are less, but consider

1 Their having a servant

2 Their profit (though not great) to be made of what they

can save on the 8th part of what they are allowed by custom to deliver less than they receive in their beer, bread, butter, and cheese

3 Their profit in what they are allowed to make of what [of] the King's provisions they can save by satisfying the seamen with money or otherwise for what the seamen can spare out of the King's allowance, which is considerable during hot weather

4 Their 12^d in the pound allowed them by the slopseller for what clothes of his they issue

5 Lastly, their advantage by carrying and vending to the seamen tobacco, sugar, brandy (which in a moderate manner is indulged them), and several other things, as also by the great opportunity they have beyond the rest of the officers (whose business confines them more to be on board) of carrying some little trade with them abroad and turning the penny therewith at the ports they come to

And you will find that where such accidents as the poverty, debauchery, or ignorance of the man, the tyranny and chargeableness of the captain and his table, or the loss arising by the charge of his necessaries (which hath been eased this war by the doubling of his necessary money) have not hindered, they may and do get a very fair livelihood, as by several instances may be proved

Which is all I shall trouble you on this subject

136 [MS p 528] PETITION OF S P TO JAMES, DUKE OF YORK, CONCERNING TRAVELLING CHARGES

[Up and to the office where all the morning doing business and after dinner with Sir W Pen to White Hall where we and the rest of us presented a great letter of the state of our want of money to his Royal Highness I did also present a demand of mine for consideration for my travelling-charges of coach and boat hire during the war which though his Royal Highness and the company did all like of yet contrary to my expectation I find him so jealous now of doing any thing extraordinary that he desired the gentlemen that they would consider it and report their minds in it to him This did unsettle my mind a great while not expecting this stop but however, I shall do as well I know though it causes me a little stop (Diary 23 February 1667-S)]

*To his Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral of England, etc
The Clerk of the Acts of his Majesty's Navy*

Humbly sheweth,

That whereas he is by his place in an especial manner obliged to frequent attendances distant from the Office of the Navy on necessary occasions of his Majesty's service, such as upon the late Lord Treasurer, the present Lords Commissioners and the officers of the Exchequer, upon his Majesty and the Lords of the Council, upon yourself, and in your absence upon the Committee of Council appointed for the affairs of the Navy, and after them upon his Grace the Duke of Albemarle, besides his almost daily attendances on Committees of Parliament during their session, and now of late on the Commissioners established by Parliament for taking accounts, all which together since the War have, and still do, occasioned a continued expense of coach hire and boat hire to his great charge, arising frequently to 6s 8d and sometimes more in a day, besides his journeys to Hampton Court (while the King was there) and to the yards and elsewhere on the business of the Office, a daily account whereof he hath kept in a book distinct from whatever like expenses he hath been at on his particular occasions,

He in humble manner prays, that consideration for travelling charges being allowed not only to his fellow Officers but to all persons employed on any service of his Majesty in the Navy, and the charge thereof having been and continuing so considerable, your Royal Highness would be pleased to authorise his being reimbursed what he shall by account under his hand (and oath, if required) declare to have been so laid out by him on his Majesty's service since the beginning of the late War

[28 February, 1667-8]

137 [MS p 533] S P TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF
ACCOUNTS ¹

[Up betimes and to the getting ready my answer to the Committee of Accounts to several questions, which makes me trouble, though I know of no blame due to me from any, let them enquire what they can out (*Diary*, 20 April, 1668)]

20 April, 1668

To the questions whereto you were pleased to command my delivering in answers this day in writing, be pleased to know

1 That as to the sum of money suggested to have been sent, or intended to have been sent, to my Lord of Sandwich by a ketch, whereof one Certaine, commander, I do not upon my best recollection remember that I have been any manner privy to the sending, or the intention of sending, of any sum of money to my Lord of Sandwich, either by this ketch or any other, from the time of his coming in with the East India prizes to this day

2 To your query what were the inducements leading me to the becoming concerned in the purchase of some of the prize goods now in debate,² I answer

1 The avowedness of the distribution made by order of the Earl of Sandwich before my coming to the fleet

2 The quality of the persons with whom alone I was thus concerned, viz, the said Earl and Sir William Pen, both declaring his Majesty's approbation of their proceedings therein

3 The publicness of the sale, with an express covenant therein had for the buyers to cause due entry to be made of the goods so sold, and payment of his Majesty's customs due thereon

4 The warranty of the said Earl and Sir William Pen for our quiet possession of the goods sold

¹ The Commission of Public Accounts had been appointed in 1607. The office of the Commission was at Brooke House, Holborn, and it was sometimes known as the Brooke House Committee.

² The long story of Pepys's purchase of prize goods is the subject of many references in the *Diary*.

And to what you were pleased to ask touching what further assurances I did receive from either of them in writing, I do well remember that, upon some interruption met with after the sale, I did receive both from his Lordship and Sir William Pen letters justifying their sale by his Majesty's grant, which letters to the best of my remembrance were afterwards by me shewn to his Grace the Duke of Albemarle and lodged with his secretary as a ground of his Grace's order for withdrawing the seizure

3 That as to the *Flying Greyhound*,¹ which his Majesty was pleased to grant the use of to Sir William Batten, Sir William Pen, and myself to employ as a private man of war, I having (upon no other consideration than the easing myself of the care attending such a business) assigned over a third of my interest therein to Sir Richard Ford, I was not privy to any part of the said ship's accounts during the whole time of her being abroad, and so am not able to give you any more particular information touching that matter than that to the best of my knowledge his Majesty was not put to one penny charge upon her from the time she was first fitted forth to the day she was delivered up again, she being victualled at our charge, the wages of the company paid by us, and I having for my own share disbursed several sums of money for the supplying her with stores, as may appear by the receipts as well as the accounts under the hand of Sir William Batten who received and paid the whole of what money passed us on this occasion

4 That to the time wherein you may expect answers from the Officers of the Navy to your late general demand, I humbly answer that as to what part thereof relates to myself as Clerk of the Acts, it was fully ready within 10 days after your demand was received, as appears by the greatest part of it long since presented to yourselves and whereof you have been pleased to express your well liking But for what concerns the rest, there being nothing to this day come to my hand from any of the gentlemen concerned, I dare not undertake nor see how

¹ She was fitted out as a privateer for the benefit of the partners

139 [MS. p 540] S P TO MR WILSON

14 October, 1668

I have received yours of the 11 instant, being returned to town but the day before, where I first met with the most unwelcome news of the death of Mr Norman,¹ which (to tell you truth) I do heartily deplore on his Majesty's behalf, who in Mr Norman's death I think has lost as honest, active, intelligent, and improving an officer as any he had in the Navy I pray God grant, to those few that remain among us qualified as he was, longer life, for the service needs them

A little before his death I had given him the trouble of looking after a draught of mine of the *Resolution*, which Mr Walker and Mr Fletcher had then under their hands in garnishing and which, being newly finished, I had desired Mr Norman to pay the former 7 and the latter 3 pound in satisfaction for their pains therein This Mr Norman (by his letter of the 26 of September) told me that he had accordingly paid them, and my desire to you is to inform yourself and me who Mr N hath left behind him to receive what is due to him, that I may return them, when your Chatham messenger comes next to town, this ten pounds I am told Mr N has left a widow If he has, and that there be anything wherein the kindness of this Office or myself in particular can be useful to her, I shall reckon myself for her husband's sake to do her all good offices within my power, and pray let her know as much

* * * * *

140 [MS p 541] S P TO MR JOHN FENN²

16 October, 1668

Finding that several of my fellow-Officers have received their last quarter's salary, and my occasions pressing me, I desire that favour in the helping me to what remains due for my salary, viz, for three quarters determining December 1667, June 1668, and Michaelmas 1668, together with a bill for three years' salary for one of my clerks By this arrear

¹ Clerk of the Survey at Chatham² A paymaster of the Navy

<i>His Majesty's Men-of-War</i>	<i>Hired men-of-war</i>	<i>Fireships, Victuallers, etc</i>
<i>1st rate</i>		
Charles	Good Hope	Briar
Prince	Loyal George	Dolphin
<i>2nd</i>	Royal Charles	Fame
Swiftsure	Merchant	Greyhound
<i>3rd</i>		Gift, Great
Essex		Hound
Resolution		Lizard
<i>4th</i>		Happy Entrance
Black Bull		Prince, Young
Black Spread Eagle		Unicorn, Little
Charity		Bramble
Charles the Fifth		Fox
Clove Tree		Abigail
Convertine		Albemarle
Elizabeth		Blessing
St Maria		Camel
Matthias		Fortune
St Patrick		Golden Heart
St Paul		St Jacob
Seven Oaks		Joseph
Unity		Land of Promise
<i>5th</i>		Mary fireship
Colchester		Prince William
Coventry		Providence
Hector		Richard
<i>6th</i>		Samuel
Colchester ketch		Spread Eagle
Merlin		Star
Mary prize		Swan
		Virgin

142 [MS p 545] S P TO CAPTAIN DEANE

[Late home, and there with much pleasure getting Mr Gibbs that writes well to write the name upon my new draught of the *Resolution*, and so set it up and altered the situation of some of my pictures in my closet, to my extraordinary content, and at it with much pleasure till almost 12 at night (*Diary*, 17 October, 1668)]

Navy Office, 24 October, 1668

* * * * *

My draught of the *Resolution* being now finished adorns my closet, so as I think there is not so grateful a draught in any man's possession as this is, and you will probably think so when I have told you that besides your own labour upon it, I have paid Mr Walker 7*l*, Fletcher 3*l*, and the framemaker 3*l* more, for their parts therein. The truth is I am very proud of it, and do therefore return you my most hearty thanks once more for your share in it, which exceeds all the rest, though I am afraid you will not think I value your pains therein as I ought to do when I have told you that I have bespoke a pair of boards upon which I must engage you to give me the draught of the new ship you are now upon, which I ask not only out of my general design to furnish myself with a draught of one ship of each rate, but out of a particular desire of having this, wherein (whatever the additional mystery of Sir Laurence Van Hemskirke¹ shall contribute to her quality) I do not doubt but what the judgment of all that have looked upon her now upon the stocks do say, she will be found as complete a piece of naval architecture as we have ever yet seen.

My end in this collection of draughts is calculated so much for common benefit as well as for the preserving the honour due to the masters of your quality and such as shall arrive at eminence therein, as that I will not doubt your excusing the freedom I take of offering you the new trouble which you are to expect from me as soon as my boards are done. In the mean time, I give you thanks from the hopes I receive from you of your advancement in the great work you wot of, wishing

¹ Sir Laurence van Hemskirke was a Dutch captain who commanded the *Vonsuck*. On his proposition to discover in art how to make a ship go two foot for one what any ship do now see *Diary*, 22 April, 1668 and 20 May, 1668.

I could give you my assistance therein, but pray forget not to bestow a little of your leisure and thoughts upon that subject, on which you have already given me a sheet or two

113 MS p 549¹ MEMORANDA BY S^r P^r CONCERNING THE
INEFFICIENCY OF SIR JOHN MENNES, THE COMPTROLLER
OF THE NAVY

(Up, and with W. Hewer by water to White Hall, and there did wait as usual upon the Duke of York where, upon discoursing something touching the Ticket Office which by letter the board did give the Duke of York their advice to be put upon Lord Brouncker Sir J^r Minnes did foolishly rise up and complain of the Office, and his being made nothing of, and this before Sir Thomas Littleton, who would be glad of this difference among us which did trouble me mightily and therefore I did forbear to say what I both twice would have thought it for me to say on this occasion, upon so impertinent a speech as this doing fool made—but, I saw, I let it alone and contented in, all that it went as I advised as to the Duke of York's judgment, in the thing disputed

* * * * *

I to the office to meet about some business of Sir W. Warren's accounts, where I used to see how ill all the Comptroller's business is likely to go on so long as ever Sir J^r Minnes lives, and so troubled I was, that I thought it a good occasion for me to give my thoughts of it in writing, and therefore wrote a letter at the Board, by the help of a tube, to Lord Brouncker, and did give it him, which I kept a copy of, and it may be of use to me hereafter to shew in this matter (Diary, 3 December, 1668)

December 14th, 1668

Memorandum,

That there being this night a meeting of some of the Board (viz, Br, J M, T M, and S P¹) for the hearing of Sir William Warren touching what parts of his accounts remains yet unfinished, the first thing they fell upon was that of the freight and demurrage of the *Great Duke of York* employed by him for the fetching of masts for his Majesty from New England, about which I remember many hearings had been, and some of them above a year and more ago, but all to no purpose through the inability or neglect of the Comptroller, so that at this day I perceive the business is as far from a period, or the first enquiry thereon satisfied, as ever it was Which

¹ Lord Brouncker, Sir John Mennes, Colonel Thomas Middleton, and Samuel Pepys

of the Board to lay this case of the Board before his Royal Highness, that some other course may be taken for the relief of us and the merchant For (I say again) as the merchant is never likely to be dispatched as his case is now handled, so I hold it unsafe for anybody else to undertake the managing of this matter while he that should and will not do it has weakness¹ enough to scandalize them that shall endeavour to ease him in it

I have made shift to scribble this at the Board, which is more than I have adventured to attempt the doing with my own eyes these several months, but the sense I have of the injury which both the King and the Board, as well as the merchant, has long and is still likely to suffer by the delay of passing this man's accounts, is such that I knew not how to forbear the communicating to your Lordship my present apprehensions upon it

December 11th, 1668

Memorandum,

That the Board attending his Royal Highness this morning, my Lord Brouncker standing by me (while the Duke was making ready) told me that he had about him the letter I lately wrote him at the Board about Sir John Mennes (which is that before written), saying that out of his despair of having an opportunity for the Board to declare their minds and advice to Sir John Mennes for his desiring of his Majesty to be discharged of the care of the remaining part of his duty (which motion I made to the Board at a public meeting thereof since the date of that letter, partly out of my sense of the intolerable injury his Majesty will daily suffer till it be done, and partly from my particular knowledge of the Duke of York's desire thereof and inclination to the giving him his salary as a Commissioner at large), he was resolved this morning

¹ *Footnote in MS* This expression was grounded upon Sir John Mennes's discourse to [the] D[uke of] Y[ork] at our attending him this day *vide* the proceedings of the Board upon D Y's general letter to them of the 25th of November, 1668 —S P

(*vide* my White Book, page 136), I proposed to him our seeking an opportunity this night of declaring our minds in these businesses to the Duke of York Which his Lordship approved of and we did, by finding him in the Duchess's Presence Chamber, where he gave us opportunity of doing it very largely Which he received from us with thanks and great kindness, telling us that he was satisfied that Sir John Mennes was unfit to have his work longer continued upon him, and that therefore he would take an occasion of letting his Majesty know so much, who (he said) he did believe would be moved to continue Sir John Mennes his salary to him and ease him of his work by committing it to some other better hand And so we left it

Vide more on this subject in my White Book, page 181

[By and by I met my Lord Brouncker, and he and I to the Duke of York alone and discoursed over the carriage of the present Treasurers in opposition to or at least independency of, the Duke of York or our Board, which the Duke of York is sensible of, and all remember I believe, for they do carry themselves very respectlessly of him and us We also declared our minds together to the Duke of York about Sir John Minnes's incapacity to do any service in the Office, and that it is but to betray the King to have any business of trust committed to his weakness So the Duke of York was very sensible of it and promised to speak to the King about it (*Diary*, 4 January, 1668-9)]

147 [MS p 557] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

5 January, 1668-9

The bearer brings you your third book, with my most humble thanks for the use of it It is true you have my promise of some profit from their loan, and by the grace of God you shall have it, but I shall crave leave of endeavouring first to make like repayment of the principal to others to whom I remain in debt

The truth is, Sir, out of my prospect of the changes yet in design for this Office, by which I may possibly be put out of the way of collecting the materials which are now in my reach towards a work I have long since cut out for myself, I am employing what leisure and hands I have to spare in stocking myself therewith, so as to hold my hands from the putting any thing together till I see a provision for the whole

But, Sir, as you may be sure of my holding myself accountable for my proceedings therein to no person sooner than to yourself, so if God gives me life to compass what I have in design, I have sped so well in my little endeavours heretofore of pleasing you as not to doubt your pardoning the time it may chance to take me in the doing lengthened by the too early loss of my once useful helps, my eyes, leaving me to the less ready service of an amanuensis, as they do even in this short address.

148 [MS p 355] S P TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE NAVY

13 January, 1668[-9]

SINCE the state of his Majesty's service, with that want of credit and money under which this Office lies, hath made that necessary which was long before in your desires, namely, the going to market with ready money for every supply of stores, be pleased to know, that since my letter to you of the first of December last I have proceeded to the endeavouring after a thorough information in the difference between the prices usually paid by his Majesty and those which are now current for those sorts of stores which go with us under the usual name of petty emptions, and wherein the right informing of the Board is in an especial manner committed (by the Admiral's Instructions) to myself. This I have done, not only by some personal enquiries of my own but in a more perfect measure by the care and industry of him on whom the purveyance of those emptions now lies,¹ and from whom I have received so satisfactory an account as that I cannot think I can use any better method of informing the Board than by presenting you with the very paper received from him. Which I therefore herewith offer to your perusal, with the two short considerations following, viz —

First, that as you will therein find from 50*l* to above one hundred pounds, and in some cases two or three hundred pounds, saved in the disbursement of one hundred ready money of what the King doth now and hath heretofore given, so upon examination of the examples which upon my fore-

¹ Thomas Hayter

	Long, inches	Broad, inches	King's price	Merch ^t price		What saved in laying out rool		
Ironmonger—						<i>l</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
Double spring locks, single - warded, with hollow keys	7	4	2 6	2 0	each	20	0	0
Single spring locks, plain - warded, without teeth								
Extraordinary stock locks, double- warded	12	7	2 6	2 0	each	20	0	0
Stock locks, single- warded	10½	6½	1 8	1 0	each	66	0	0
Door handles	8		12 6	8 0	per dozen	56	0	0
Hanging locks, cross - warded, with hollow keys	3½	3½	15 0	8 0	per dozen	87	0	0
Scuttle hinges	5	2	11 9	8 0	per dozen	67	10	0
Dozen garnets ¹	11	4	12 6	7 0		56	0	0
Middle esscs	8	3	11 0	8 0	pair	37	10	0
Table hinges			9 0	8 6		6	0	0
Table screws			10 0	2 0	per dozen	500	0	0
Extraordinary large esscs	9	4	14 0	10 0	per dozen	40	0	0
Side hinges	8	4	13 0	8 0	pair	62	0	0
Spring latches	10	4	14 0	10 0	per dozen	40	0	0
Lamb heads ¹	5	2½	5 0	4 6	per dozen	11	0	0
Plate bolts	4	3	5 0	4 0	pair	25	0	0
London dovetails			4 6	1 4	per dozen	337	0	0
Casement hinges	5	2	5 0	3 6	per dozen	42	10	0
Long latches	10		8 6	6 6	pair	30	0	0
Spring bolts	5	3	6 0	5 0	per dozen	20	0	0
Tumbrils	5		8 0	9 0	per dozen			query
Dutch rings			3 6	0 10	pair	405	0	0
Sail needles			2 0	0 6	per dozen	400	0	0
Hasps and staples			2 0	4 0	per dozen			query
Gromets ² and staples			2 0	1 4	pair	50	0	0
Whipsaws			5 6	5 0	each	10	0	0
Two-hand saws			4 9	3 6	"	35	10	0
Fire shovels			1 6	1 0	"	50	0	0
Tongs			1 6	1 0	"	50	0	0
Hatchets			13 0	12 0	per dozen	8	0	0
Scrapers			16 0	9 0	"	77	15	0
Fire-forks			2 4	1 3	each	86	0	0
Pitch-pots			24 0	20 0	per cwt	20	0	0
Andirons			0 4	0 4	per lb			
Flesh-hooks			8 0	7 0	per dozen	14	0	0
Spits			0 4	0 4	per lb			
Grindstones			1 6	1 0	per foot	50	0	0

¹ A special type of hinge² Rope rings used for various purposes

	King's	Merchant's		Saved in Lying out 100 ^l
Ship chandler—				
Soft grease	38 0	19 0	per cwt	100 0 0
Birch brooms, single	1 4	0 10	} per doz.	{ 60 0 0
Birch brooms, double	3 0	1 5		
Blacking	0 11	0 5	per barrel	120 0 0
Charcoal	1 1	0 9	per bushel	72 10 0
Glue	0 7½	0 5	per lb	50 0 0
Thurns	0 11	0 5	"	32 0 0
Holland's twine	1 2	0 0	"	72 10 0
Candles	0 0	1 5	per doz	28 10 0
Inks	3 0	2 4	"	28 10 0
Turner's ware—				
Steel shod shovels	22 0	10 0	} per doz	{ 37 10 0
Steel shod spades	21 0	10 0		
Scoops	13 0	10 0	} per doz	{ 38 10 0
Hand scoops	10 0	2 0		
Hand bowl of	10 0	0 0	} per doz	{ 100 0 0
Ballast baskets, cross-bound	0 0	0 0		
not cross bound	0 0	0 0	} per doz	{ 5 0 8
Middle baskets	12 0	0 0		
Resin baskets	1 0	1 0	each	33 0 8
Prickles for oakum	12 0	0 0	per doz	11 0 8
Shells ²	0 0	0 4	per ft	50 0 0
Cottons } dyed red	{ 1 9	{ 1 3	} per yard	{ 10 0 0
Kerseys }	{ 2 10	{ 1 10		
Goat's hair	21 1	11 0	per lb	50 0 0

By this, Sir, you will see the difference between the prices the King hath hitherto given (although sometimes with ready money, as in the last summer's service) and what merchants buy it, together with what will thereby be saved in the lying out of one hundred pounds. Only this is to be noted, that those who sell goods at these prices to merchants know no charge in the carriage of them to any place, nor in looking after their money, but are ascertained of their payment upon delivering the goods.

What I have further to add is to assure you that I have not herein done anything intentionally to the prejudice of any who usually serve the Navy, but that I do not in the least

¹ The same.
² I have not been able to ascertain the price of a bushel of shavings, but I have been told that it is 10s. 6d. per bushel.

doubt, whensoever you shall please to put it to the trial (which the Duke's instructions seems rather to direct than to buy upon credit), but I shall be able to evidence (reasonable warning being given me beforehand to provide them, and regard being had to contingencies which cannot be foreseen) that goods of the sorts here named (no way inferior in quality, but in some particulars twenty in the hundred better than what are commonly served into the King's stores) may be bought for his Majesty at the market with ready money for the rates here set down, and therefore humbly begging that if the event of this my honest intention shall occasion my being misrepresented either to yourself or the Board, as by what hath already occurred to me from a person whom I thought I had treated with all fairness, and by what I am not ignorant is the natural consequence of such essays, I have reason to expect it will, it may not (by the continuance of your countenance, whereof I am not in the least jealous, and shall to my utmost endeavour not to forfeit) bring me under prejudice, I humbly submit both myself and it to your candour and prudent consideration

149 [MS p 564] S P TO VISCOUNT BOUNCKER

18 *January*, 1668[-9]

Pursuant to what your Lordship hath given me leave some times to discourse of with you, and more particularly since your Lordship's stricter entry upon the consideration of our reviving the ancient practice of acting by estimates, and the Treasurer's declaring the fund designed for the support of the Navy this present year to be 200,000*l*, I thought it might be no less useful to your Lordship than I know you will hold it pardonable in me to offer to your Lordship anything that may contribute to the informing you in this too weighty circumstance of your Lordship's present care

It comes then before me to observe to your Lordship first, that for the right comprehending all that is to be reckoned extraordinary in the Navy, and for which particular estimates are occasionally to be made, it is necessary for us to be well instructed in that which is to be reckoned the ordinary, and

with another of the Project itself, I herein send your Lordship, to which I humbly refer you, and proceed in the last place to observe to your Lordship,

Thirdly, that in this Project your Lordship will find that, besides the common ordinary estimate of the standing charge of the Navy (calculated therein at 76,010*l* 13*s* 1*d*) there are several other things which being added (to the making up 200,000*l*) may in a fair sense be termed the ordinary estimate of the present year. So as if the 200,000*l* now given us shall, upon our application on that behalf to his Royal Highness (the requisiteness whereof I offer to be considered of by your Lordship) be declaredly designed for the execution of that Project, I conceive your Lordship will find it necessary to excogitate such a method of disposing for your ready view the several branches of the said Project as may enable your Lordship rightly to title all payments for work and stores, relating not only to the charge appertaining to the ordinary of the Navy, strictly so called, but to all that is by this Project made the standing expense of the present year, and circumscribed within the said sum of 200,000*l*, that so when any expensive service shall be demanded of us, not comprehended within that provision, we may timely ask money for our support therein, or unbespeak the Lord High Admiral's expectation of having it done, a practice not only laudable for us as well as satisfactory to all we have to deal with, but that alone which remains within my hopes capable of ever bringing his Majesty's work to be either well done or done at all. For if during the late War, instead of borrowing from one service to forward another, and sacrificing our own content and good names by the ruining of private men to provide dear, in sufficient, and (for the most part) untimely supplies of stores, we had professedly suffered the action at some one time to receive a total stop, I cannot imagine but they who could content themselves with so little care of us while anything was found doing, would have looked better about them had they once been alarmed with the effects of finding nothing done.

This, my Lord, is what occurred to me on this subject, not unfit (I thought) to be hinted to your Lordship, to which

I shall take this opportunity of adding only my humble advice in what I was interrupted in at my last waiting upon your Lordship at Whitehall, namely, that you would be pleased to have in your eye the answering the future enquiries of the Parliament or others after the disposal of the money provided for the service of the last year That which (besides the general reasonableness of the thing) prompts me to the mention of this sometimes to your Lordship is, not only the general inquisitiveness which I everywhere meet with after the disposal of that money, but the industry which I find used by the Lords of the Treasury themselves in their so frequent directions for our keeping a strict and separate account of the charge of that year, and the moneys assigned on that account, leaving it at our doors to answer for its not being done A caution which I know your Lordship will take in good part

[ENCLOSURES]

(1) *Letter from the Navy Board to the Committee for Retrenchment,*¹ dated 29 August, 1667

In answer to your Lordships' commands, signified to us by the Earl of Anglesey, for our considering and reporting to your Lordships our opinion of a late proposal of Sir William Coventry for reducing the charge of the Navy to two hundred thousand pounds per annum, we make this humble return That we have examined the measures by which Sir William Coventry hath proceeded in the calculating of the charge of each service mentioned in the said proposal, and do find them such as we make no doubt but the whole may be compassed within the annual sum of two hundred thousand pounds, but do think it becoming us to observe to your Lordships that in this proposal no provision is made, either for replenishing his Majesty's yards with stores suitable to the condition they were in before

¹ A Committee appointed on 29 July 1667 by Order in Council to take into serious consideration all the several branches 'of 'the King's expenses' and to report "what proportions of each may best and most conveniently be retrenched his Majesty being resolved to practise the rules of thrift and good husbandry (S P Dom Car II ccxi 67) The letter was signed by Sir John Mennes Sir William Batten Sir William Penn and Samuel Pepys

the War, or for any service more than what is strictly expressed in the said proposal, nor for the charge of putting his Majesty's ships into such repair as it is understood they should be maintained in by the ordinary estimate of 76,010*l* 13*s*, which we humbly leave with your Lordships

(2) *A Proposal for reducing the Charge of the Navy
to 200,000*l* per annum*¹

For the reducing into practice the proposal of maintaining the Navy and fleet at sea in time of peace for 200,000*l*, it is necessary to consider the Navy in two parts. The one, the charge of it in harbour, *i.e.*, the wages and salaries and travelling charges of all officers relating to it, the maintaining all the buildings, wharfs, and docks, etc., in all his Majesty's yards, the mooring and ordinary graving and caulking of the ships for their preservation, the wages and victuals of the officers and shipkeepers borne upon them, and in short, all such charges as is to be defrayed though no ships should be set to sea, all which being by a late estimate made by the Officers of the Navy computed to amount to 76,010*l* 13*s* 1*d*, but not comprehending the ordinary charge of 7 second rate ships and 3 third-rates now in building, which when built will cost in ordinary about 5000*l* more, so that in all the ordinary may be computed at 80,000*l*, out of which what may be saved by ships at sea (which when the fleets are small will not be very considerable), by the wet dock at Deptford, and the creek at Portsmouth, so that upon the whole matter, I believe 100,000*l* per annum may maintain the ordinary and build and rig for his Majesty in every 2 years 3 ships of the 3rd rank

The other part of the Navy to be considered is the charge of setting ships to sea for ordinary uses in times of peace. To which if 100,000*l* more be allotted, his Majesty may during the winter maintain at sea 10 ships of the rates following —

¹ Sir William Coventry's Project put forward on 27 August, 1667, was approved by the King in Council on 16 March, 1668-9. It is printed in Granville Penn, *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, II 528. See also the *Diary* for 20 August, 1667.

wet docks, and what objections of any kind are to be made against them? A proposition having been lately started of having one made in each of the King's yards, to which I would be glad to be furnished with what from your experience thereof, both at home and abroad, you are able to say thereto

2 What is to be said in defence of the Dutch their practice, and I think the French also, of making the captains of their ships victuallers? This being also propounded for our imitation here, and that not only as to victuals but that the captains also should indent for all boatswain's and carpenter's stores, and you having this (if I mistake not) among your late notes to be considered of, I desire that you will think of it and give me your opinion about it

3 How far in your experience you find that commendation true touching English oak above oak of any other growth, touching its receiving of a shot with less shivering And whether it be true what I hear said, that the galleon hulk at Portsmouth which was built of cedar is found to have endured wet and dry as well as our vessels built of oak Which last will be of use to me in something which I have lately met with touching the different duration of the several sorts of timber

152 [MS p 572] S P TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE NAVY

[And so thence home and there to my business at the office, and after my letters done, thence home to supper and to bed, my mind being mightily eased by my having this morning delivered to the Office a letter of advice about our answers to the Commissioners of Accounts, whom we have neglected and I have done this as a record in my justification hereafter, when it shall come to be examined (*Diary*, 9 February, 1668-9)]

9 February, 1668[-9]

Being very apprehensive of the consequences of that dissatisfaction which I fear the Commissioners of Accounts may too justly conceive to the prejudice of this Office, from their want of timely no less than satisfactory answers to what in pursuance of their Commission they have at several times thought fit to demand of us, I could not think I had fully acquitted myself in my duty to the Board until (besides my

These little notes I thought fit to trouble you with, that if you find any force in them you may give me your information upon them

I have received yours of the 21st, and am taking care to send down the plat

As for the *Nonsuch*, I am not at all doubtful of her being found abundantly sufficient for the doing of you right that built her, but that she should ever earn Sir Lawrence van Hemskirke¹ the reward expected from the King, I meet with nobody that has faith enough to look for it

But I will not fail to give you the first intimation I receive of Sir Jeremy Smith's² report of her. But pray excuse me that I am forced once more to ask you what piece of plate you pitch upon for her, I having at last got an assurance of monecy of the Treasurer's to pay for it, and therefore would presently put it in doing, but I dare not rely upon my memory for the form you pitched upon, though I think it was a flagon.

154 [MS p 581] S P TO VISCOUNT BOUNCKER

11 March, 1668[-9]

Though the thanks I received from all but your Lordship for my late endeavours of helping the Board to a right knowledge of the posture wherein they stand in relation to their discharge before the Commissioners of Accounts, were such as might well put an end to the care I have so long unprofitably undergone on the behalf of others, yet so much is his Majesty's service and the joint honour of the Board interested in our giving satisfaction to the said Commissioners, that I cannot think any care too much that may conduce towards it, and therefore have adventured in the enclosed to give Sir John Mennes occasion of being farther displeased with me

My intent in troubling your Lordship with it is, that if upon perusal your Lordship find no cause of correcting it, it may be communicated and seconded by your Lordship, whose

¹ See note on p. 198 above

² On Sir Jeremy Smyth, see *DNB* liii 65. In 1668 he had been Vice-Admiral of the Fleet in the Channel and in June 1669 he was appointed Comptroller of Victualling in succession to Sir William Penn

authority with him I have good reason to believe will render it the more operative and less offensive

The truth is, my Lord, the ill success of my so many endeavours with his Royal Highness, Mr Wren, and Sir John Mennes himself (to some of which your Lordship hath been both privy and assisting) of getting him without prejudice eased of an office wherein his infirmities render his continuance unsafe to his Majesty as well as burdensome to the Board, makes me the more willing by my advice and help to supply the want of his removal by making his stay as little to be repented as I can Wherein I am sure your Lordship will also readily concur, and consequently excuse the trouble given you on this subject

What I have to add is, that partly from this weakness in Sir John Mennes, partly from the imperfect answers from Sir George Carteret and the Surveyor without any at all from my Lord of Anglesey, and partly from the several books and papers said to have been already delivered in to the Commissioners of Accounts by Sir John Mennes, etc, which were to have constituted part of our general answer to the said Commissioners, I do very much doubt whether this Office will ever be able to give them any laudable reply, and therefore do humbly offer it to your Lordship to consider what is advisable for the Board in general to do for its justification in a case where I cannot but think it too much that the honour of the whole should be sacrificed to the failures of some particular members

In the mean time I shall by my daily representations and all other means do my part to quicken the Board in what lies before them to do, and therein being sure of your Lordship's furtherance, Remain

155 [MS p 583] S P TO THE TREASURERS OF THE NAVY ¹

[But this day I did also represent to our Treasurers, which was read here, a state of the charge of the Navy, and what the expence of it this year would likely be, which is done so as it will appear well done and to my honour, for so the Lords did take it, and I oblige the Treasurers by doing it at their request (*Diary*, 22 March, 1668-9)]

21 March, 1668-9

Upon occasion of the many demands for money with which you lately observed this Office at present pressed, and the reflections you did then thereupon make touching the sufficiency or insufficiency of two hundred thousand pounds to answer them, and what further charge the service of the present year might draw upon us, you were pleased to desire my giving you in writing a view of what occurred to me on that subject, which I have accordingly prepared as fully and distinctly as on this occasion I could, and pray your receiving it as follows, viz

First, by a short account of the Project on which this sum of two hundred thousand pounds was first calculated for defraying the yearly expense of the Navy Next, by comparing the work cut out for us by that Project with what is or ought to be provided for as the work of the present year

For the former, the two hundred thousand pounds designed for the annual expense of the Navy by this Project was thus distributed, namely

[There follows a summary of Sir William Coventry's Proposal printed on p 217 above]

Which Project being transmitted to us by the hands of the Earl of Anglesey from a Committee of the Lords of the Council anno 1667 for our opinion about the same, we did by our letter of the 29th of August 1667 report that we had examined the measures by which the calculation had been made of the charge of each service mentioned therein, and did find them such as we made no doubt but the whole might be compassed within the annual sum of two hundred thousand pounds, but did think it becoming us to observe to their Lordships that in this proposal no provision is made either for replenishing his Majesty's yards with stores suitable to the condition they

¹ In 1668 Sir Thomas Osborne and Sir Thomas Littleton had been appointed joint Treasurers of the Navy in succession to the Earl of Anglesey Osborne is better known as Earl of Danby and afterwards Duke of Leeds

were in before the War, or for any service more than what is strictly expressed in the said proposal, nor for the charge of putting his Majesty's ships into such repair as it is understood they should be maintained in by the ordinary estimate above mentioned of 80,000^l ¹

Now for the latter, touching the proportion between the work here proposed to be annually performed by this 200,000^l and what is within my view expected from us, or at least fit to be provided for, within the present year is as follows —

1st For supporting the ordinary charge of the Navy in harbour, which (though increased by the addition of the pensions lately established to the flag officers, amounting to 1550 ^l per annum, with the further pension of 200 ^l per annum to one Soleby an apothecary, settled by a privy seal lately brought to this Office, together with a settlement of pensions to several seamen wounded on board some merchant-ships some time since imprested into his Majesty's service in the West Indies by the Lord Willoughby ²), I shall not nevertheless value higher than what it was rated at in the aforesaid Project, viz			
		l	s d
		80,000	0 0
2ndly For the finishing of the three 2nd rate ships building at Woolwich, Chatham, and Portsmouth		29,000	
The like for the wreck of the <i>Loyal London</i> , far advanced in her rebuilding		10,560	
The like for the wreck of the <i>Royal James</i> , to be turned into a hulk		1,635	
		41,195	0 0
3rdly For the victuals, wear, and tear of the fleet abroad, which from 3058 (the number of men employed therein on the first of January last) is increased so as (with the six ships now going out) to consist at this day of 4653, serving in 50 ships of the rates following —			

¹ See p 217 above

² Lord Willoughby of Parham, the Governor of Barbados, died in 1666

Rates	No
3	3
4	15
5	8
6 with the yachts,	24
[and] small vessels for transportation	

To which, although it be not improbable that the continued hostility of the Algerines in the Straits and the support of his Majesty's honour in the Narrow Seas (guarded at present by one 6th-rate only in the Downs, one 4th-rate at Portsmouth, and another 6th on the coast of Ireland) may require such an addition as may make up what part of the present number may happen to be called in before the winter, yet to prevent any fear of my overvaluing the charge of this fleet, I shall so far set aside its present complement of 4653 and the reasons I have to despair of its lessening, as to suppose its being manned the year round but with 3600 men according to which the charge thereof for wages, victuals, wear, and tear will amount to

l s d
177,840 0 0

4thly For the putting his Majesty's wharfs, docks, gates, cranes, and storehouses in his several yards into necessary repair

11,211 0 0

5thly For the clearing the rivers of Thames and Medway of the wrecks occasioned by the late attempts of the Dutch, upon the present dispatch whereof the preservation of both depends

1,500 0 0

6thly For extraordinary payments already assigned by his Majesty upon the said 200,000*l*, viz

Mr Baylie ¹	1151 04 9	1,585 0 7
Capt Bowen ²	193 15 10	
Lieut Pretty ³	40 00 00	
Sir Laurence van Hemskirke ⁴	100 00 00	
Capt Strachan ⁵	100 00 00	

¹ Mr Francis Baylie shipbuilder at Bristol

² Peter Bowen was commander of the *Newcastle*

³ Saxey Pretty lieutenant of the *Portsmouth* ⁴ See note on p 198 above

⁵ Possibly George Straughan who had commanded the *Fortune* galliot in 1666

7thly For the fitting forth of the <i>Eaglet</i>	}	<i>l s d</i>
ketch for the particular service of her Majesty,		
the like of the <i>Wivenhoe</i> , lent to Sir Robert Viner		
and others, adventurers to Hudson's Bay, and		
lastly the <i>Truelove</i> , lent for an experiment to	}	400 0 0
the inventors of the lac-work		

Total whereof amounts to	313,731 0 7
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Which sum of 313,731*l* 00*s* 07*d* doth not only exceed (upon moderate calculations) our 200,000*l* by 113,731*l* 00*s* 07*d*, but exceeds it upon such heads of service as (excepting the two last, of small value and already complied with) cannot in any wise (that I see) be laid aside or delayed without much greater injury to his Majesty than the charge of their performance amounts to

But this is not all, the state of his Majesty's ships and stores in general being not therein provided for —

The former of which by the late War is become such as (according to a late report of the Surveyor) doth require for putting them into a condition of service (besides what is already demanded for the four ships and wreck above-mentioned) the sum of	}	<i>l s d</i>
		63,788 10 0

The latter such as for the supply of materials wanting for the rigging, ground tackle, boat-swain's and carpenter's sea-stores for all his Majesty's Navy for twelve months will require	}	31,192

Both amounting to	94,920 10 0
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[sic]

Which I cannot think other arguments needful to evince the necessity of our having some speedy fund provided for the answering than what the bare perusal of the survey book lately presented to his Royal Highness will administer, especially when regard shall be had to the daily growth of our neighbours in their naval force, to the rendering his

Majesty's present fleet (when in their best condition) of much less consideration than it was at the beginning of the late War

This, Gentlemen, seems to be the state of our present matters, —I say present, in distinction to what relates to years past, such as the debt to Sir Thomas Allin's fleet and the yards, with the arrears of wages in general to seamen and bills to tradesmen, which though I have here forborne to enlarge on, as considerations foreign to your present enquiries, yet I durst not omit their mention, as matters much importing his Majesty's honour and future service, and therefore most worthy to be seasonably thought on

156 [MS p 589] THE NAVY BOARD TO JAMES, DUKE
OF YORK

[Thence I away over the Park, it being now night, to White Hall, and there, in the Duchess's chamber, do find the Duke of York, and upon my offer to speak with him he did come to me, and withdrew to his closet, and there did hear and approve my paper of the Administration of the Navy, only did bid me alter these words, "upon the rupture between the late King and the Parliament," to these "the beginning of the late Rebellion," giving it me as but reason to shew that it was with the Rebellion that the Navy was put by out of its good old course into that of a Commission (*Diary*, 17 April, 1669)]

17 April, 1669

These are, in pursuance of your Highness's late commands, humbly to present your Highness with an account, as well as what occurs to us touching the ancient, as of what methods we are ourselves governed by in the present administration of those affairs of his Majesty's which fall within the cognizance of the Office of the Navy, and which (for the better explication of what follows) may be summarily comprised in the five ensuing particulars

1 The well and husbandly building, equipping, manning, victualling, safe mooring, repairing, and preserving in harbour his Majesty's ships

2 The seasonable, uninterested, and circumspect buying, preserving, and employing his stores

3 The timely and reasonable demanding, together with the rightful and orderly dispensing, of his treasure

4 The strict and timely calling to account all persons chargeable under or from this Office with any his Majesty's said treasure or stores

5 Lastly, the seeing all orders of his Majesty's and the Lord High Admiral's duly executed, both by its own members and all inferior officers, as well in these as what other particulars shall come before it conducing to his Majesty's naval service

Which being the standing duties of this Office, your Highness may be pleased to know that his Majesty's Royal predecessors, having until the time of King Henry the 8th served themselves in most occasions of sea service, both in peace and war, with fleets supplied them from the Cinque Ports and other hired ships, there was then but small use of, and consequently at this day little to be found touching any settled Office of the Navy within that time

But when under that prince the Crown (from reasons then occurring) found it necessary to improve its naval strength, both in the build and force of its ships, beyond what was at that time to be found among merchantmen, then it was that the King becoming a builder himself, and in order thereto entering into a great expense in fitting of yards, storehouses, and wharfs, buying of stores, entertaining variety of workmen and labourers, and this with such effect as in his lifetime to raise his Royal Navy to thirty ships of burthen and forty smaller vessels, it was found necessary that this action should be brought under some settled œconomy, and the same accordingly done by an establishment of proper officers for managing each part thereof, and all submitted to the superintendency of four Principal Officers, under the names of Treasurer, Comptroller, Surveyor, and Clerk of the Navy, who by the due execution of the distinct duties severally allotted them, stood as one body jointly entrusted with the performance of the whole work above mentioned

This (may it please your Royal Highness) is the first method wherein under the Lord High Admiral we find the ministerial part of the Navy put, and under this it was that it continued more than 100 years, viz, until Anno 1642, without any other

interruption than what was given it by an experiment made towards the end of King James of having several parts thereof managed by Commission,¹ touching the proceedings and issue whereof we conceive it unnecessary to say more here than that after 10 years proof of the fruits of that alteration it was found requisite to resume not only the old constitution but as many of the old hands as had survived that suspension

In the year 1642, *upon the rupture between his late Majesty and the Parliament*,² his Majesty was pleased to forbid the Principal Officers of his Navy to pay the said Parliament any obedience or continue further acting in their employments, and being therein obeyed by all but the Surveyor,³ the Parliament (as themselves declare in their Ordinance on that behalf) is compelled to supply the absence of those Officers by erecting a Commission,⁴ wherein what was before by proper distributions charged upon particular members, under the care and control of the whole, is now committed to the management of the whole promiscuously

This Commission by successive changes (answerable to those in the hands that made them) continued till the happy Restoration of his present Majesty, when upon debate, first before your Royal Highness and then his Majesty in Council, touching the best method of settling the affairs of the Navy, and therein consideration being had as well of the approved method of ancient times as of the difference and disproportion between the naval action now and what it was formerly, to the rendering both the distinct and common work of the Principal Officers thereof much more difficult than heretofore, it was concluded most suitable to the present condition of the Navy that to these ancient, stated Officers there should be added (as there hath for the most part been an equal number of)

¹ The Commission of 1618

² *Marginal note* Memorandum That upon my reading my first draught of this letter to his Royal Highness he liked well of the same, directing only these words to be altered thus *The beginning of the late Rebellion* and so it went from the Board to him

³ Batten who had been Surveyor of the Navy since 1638 at first adhered to the Parliament

⁴ The Commission of the Navy appointed by the Ordinance of 15 September 1642.

Assistant Commissioners "who" (as your Royal Highness hath in a late letter been pleased to observe) "by being not limited to any, and yet furnished with power of acting and controlling every part both of the particular and common duties of the Office, have full opportunity given them as well of understanding the defects of the whole and applying their assistance where it may be most useful, as also of being able to remonstrate to your Highness where (through neglect, insufficiency, or want of further assistance) any part of the work of the said Office lies unprovided for "

And this (may it please your Royal Highness) is the constitution according to which the Office was then first settled and now remains Wherein as being supported both by Officers under special trusts and Commissioners qualified for the care and control of the whole, his Majesty is secured no less in the advantages flowing from the ancient method than of what are thought peculiar to that of the late times under a Commission

That which offers itself next to your Royal Highness is the consideration of the rules by which the hands thus entrusted do govern themselves About which we think it not needful to observe more to your Royal Highness than that, though it appears that the distinct duties of each officer and under officer of the Navy have been in all times ascertained, yet we do not find that the same were formally digested into one body till the time of the Earl of Northumberland, who caused them to be collected, and confirming them with his hand as Admiral enjoined them upon the Officers of the Navy for their future government The course your Royal Highness also hath been pleased to take, not only by a review, ratifying, and improvement of those orders of the Earl of Northumberland soon after the last settlement of this Office, but by several other subsequent acts, and particularly those sprung from that general inquisition into the methods and management of this Office which your Royal Highness hath been pleased to make since the close of the late War ¹

¹ On the Duke of York's revised Instructions of 28 January, 1662 based on those of the Earl of Northumberland issued in 1640, see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS*, i 20 The "other subsequent acts" are described in ib i 21ff

Touching which, though we shall not so far undertake for their perfection as to think them proof against all the possible evils and abuses which time and the restless invention of ill men may produce in a matter not only so copious as this of the Navy but where the necessities arising from want of their due have driven many persons to the invention of and adventuring upon such practices as naught but those necessities could probably have urged them to, yet dare we not (may it please your Royal Highness) be so far unfaithful to his Majesty and our own observation as not to say that, as the rules and methods of the present administration of this Office carry in them no less than the result of all the long and chargeable experience of times past, so do they contain remedies sufficient to obviate the evils met with in the Navy at this day, if answered with suitable endeavours in us who are to execute them, and we furnished with the means requisite for the enabling us thereto

Of which, as we shall (each of us for himself) most readily embrace any course of examination as to the former, so the frequency and expressiveness wherewith we have from time to time declared and inculcated our wants, with the untimeliness and insufficiency with which these wants have been ever answered, are too legible that we should doubt of our justification in what concerns the latter

We have nothing to add but the acquainting our Highness with our having annexed to this letter a copy of your Highness's aforesaid books of instructions, with the additional rules established by your Highness during the late War, for regulating our payments and methodizing the accounts thereof, as also the Orders of Council conferring several parts of the Comptroller's work on others of our number giving him further assistance in the auditing the accounts of the storekeepers. Which papers comprehending a complete view of the general administration of this Office, we have (for saving prolixity) spared the adding those other particulars which your Highness hath occasionally been led to establishing, and which, though of no less importance to that of the Navy, yet being for the most part only supplementary to the said book,

easy reference may be had thereto in any case wherein his Majesty or his Highness shall upon its perusal think fit to call for any further information

[The original letter was signed by Lord Brouncker, Sir John Mennes, Thomas Middleton, Samuel Pepys, and John Cox. The last-named had been appointed Commissioner of the Navy at Chatham 29 March, 1669.]

[Up, and all the morning till 2 o'clock at my office, with Gibson and Tom, about drawing up fair my discourse of the Administration of the Navy, and then I in to dinner, and then out to my office again to examine the fair draught, and so I to White Hall, where we all met and did sign it, and then to my Lord Arlington's, where the King, and the Duke of York, and Prince Rupert, as also Ormond and the two Secretaries, with my Lord Ashly and Sir T Clifford, was. And there by and by being called in, Mr Williamson did read over our paper, which was in a letter to the Duke of York bound up in a book with the Duke of York's Book of Instructions. He read it well, and, after read, we were bid to withdraw, nothing being at all said to it (*Diary*, 18 April, 1669).]

Memorandum, April 18, 1669

That I have seen a letter, dated 17, being bound up in vellum with the Duke's book of instructions and his letter before mentioned dated 28 Jan^y 1661 [-2], (beginning thus, "Whereas I understand," &c.) and at the end thereof annexed the three other papers mentioned in the close of this letter, was presented to the Duke this day at a special meeting of the King and Cabinet at the Lord Arlington's lodgings at Whitehall, present, the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, [the] Lord Keeper, with the 2 Secretaries (as also Lord Ashley and Sir T Clifford attending on another occasion of the Navy as Commissioners of the Treasury) and there read ([Lord] Br[ouncker], [Sir] J[ohn] M[ennes], T[omas] M[iddleton], S[amuel] P[epys], and J[ohn] C[ox] present) and by Mr Williamson, and after its being read, and my telling to his Majesty our readiness then to satisfy him in what he should think fit to demand of us on this subject, we were directed to withdraw, without hearing anything from them at all on this matter at this meeting. But the Duke of York after they were up told me that the book was ordered to be left at my Lord Arlington's for any of my Lords at leisure to peruse, and thereupon to bring to his Majesty in writing what they had to propound to his Majesty touching the same by way of exception or otherwise. And accordingly Mr

Williamson since tells me that the book rests in his hand, unvisited by anybody to this day, May 3rd 1669¹

157 [MS. p 595] S P TO MR BODHAM, Clerk of the
Ropeyard at Woolwich

29 April, 1669

For what respects the other matter, I shall make the best private use I can of it, but between you and I, am too much satisfied of the incorrigibleness to which most men in the Navy, both officers and others, are at this day come, and until the necessity of the poor and the debauchery of the rich may be equally courted, with money for rewarding their good deeds and a halter to recompense their bad ones, I am, Your very affectionate friend

158 [MS p 596] S P TO MR WREN

[And so at noon with Sir Thomas Allen and Sir Edward Scott and Lord Carlingford to the Spanish Embassadors, where I dined the first time The olio not so good as Sheres's There was at the table himself and a Spanish Countess,—a good comely, and witty lady—three Fathers, and us Discourse good and pleasant. I made much use of my French and Spanish here, to my great content (*Diary*, 5 May, 1669)]

8 May, 1669

In answer to yours of yesterday about the Portland, I am heartily afflicted as well as ashamed at what not only yourself tell me but my own ears heard from the Spanish Ambassador, dining with him the other day in company with Sir Thomas Allin And yet I wish there were no reason to our our wants becoming more notorious rather than less I am I sure without more money than the 200,000^l to supply them and whatever the state of our stores is now it must be worse before the year be out For remedy whereof, the Board according to my motion yesterday have in the enclosed a memorial touching each want, which pray let him have, so as it may be made use of with the King at to morrow's Council

¹ MS May 3rd 1668

² The Duke of York to whom Matthew Wren was secretary

159 [MS p 598] S P TO THE STOREKEEPER AT CHATHAM

18 May, 1669

I am fain to take things while they are in my mind, which makes me so abruptly to trouble you about something that I have lately heard touching the use of swivels, that they not only may be but were really found of very ill consequence to the King's ships at the time of the Dutch being at Chatham. Pray do me the favour to shew this to Boatswain Moore from me, and let him know that I do pray him to give me his opinion in a line or two touching this matter, as also how he found it at that time.

Moreover, I would very gladly be satisfied what it was that led them to the cutting and turning the great ships adrift, by which means some of them lying aground were afterwards burnt, and why they did not rather choose to sink them in deep water, where they would have lain secure against fire, & d been afterwards raised without much prejudice or charge, whether it was indeed done out of choice or only in a hurry, as a great many things more were at that time, both there and in other places, to our no small reproach since.

160 [MS p 599] S P's PETITION TO JAMES, DUKE OF YORK, FOR LEAVE OF ABSENCE

[Dined at home and I all the afternoon drawing up a foul draught of my petition to the Duke of York about my eyes, for leave to spend three or four months out of the Office, drawing it so as to give occasion to a voyage abroad, which I did, to my pretty good liking (*Diary* 16 May, 1669)]

By and by the Duke of York comes, and readily took me to his closet and received my petition, and discoursed about my eyes and pitied me and with much kindness did give me his consent to be absent, and approved of my proposition to go into Holland to observe things there of the Navy, but would first ask the King's leave, which he anon did (ib, 19 May, 1669)]

*To his Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral of England
The Humble Petition of Samuel Pepys, Clerk of the Acts
of his Majesty's Navy,*

Sheweth,

That such hath been the gracious acceptance and other encouragements which your Petitioner's mean endeavours in

for three or four months this summer In which his sole aim being the relieving of his eyes by such a respite from their present labour, your Petitioner is ready during this time to embrace any other service on which his Majesty or your Royal Highness shall think fit to command him, either at home or abroad

And your Petitioner, as in duty bound, shall pray, etc

19 May, 1669

[I back again to White Hall, where I attended the Duke of York and was by him led to [the King], who expressed great sense of my misfortune in my eyes and concernment for their recovery, and accordingly signified his assent to my desire therein (*Diary* 24 May, 1669)]

161 [MS p 604] S P TO JAMES, DUKE OF YORK

17 June, 1669

Your Highness's warrants are now issued to the persons designed for assisting the Comptroller in auditing the store keepers' accounts, a work in the well performance whereof your Highness seems interested in a greater degree than formerly by how much your Highness's advice hath concurred with this Board's in leading his Majesty to the new (but necessary) charge of these officers, and thereby removed all defence for future failures therein

Which consideration (may it please your Highness) presses me once more to move your Highness that regard may be had to the age and infirmities of Sir John Mennes, rendering him unequal as for the burthen of his place in general so in an especial manner for that active part of it which respects this great work

Your Highness knows with what tenderness to Sir John Mennes I have ever moved your Highness in this matter, as of one whose integrity, long service, and present usefulness by his advice, I truly honour, and therefore make this mention of them as most worthy to be preserved in his Majesty's and your Royal Highness's esteem

But at the same time, and on this fresh occasion, I dare not omit the laying once more before your Highness the

were better for his Majesty twenty times over to give a fair salary to an able person that might act as a deputy to Sir John Mennes (and thereby both his Highness's said end and Sir John Mennes's of keeping the title be obtained) than suffer it to lie undone, as of a long time it hath and now does To which his Highness gave me no ready answer but that he thought that by the help of able clerks (which nevertheless I told him that he had not, at least not fit for so great a charge) the rest of the Comptroller's work might be well enough carried on for so short a time, but that as to this work, he directed me to propose it to my Lord Brouncker, and if my Lord would undertake it, that I should then acquaint him (his Highness) with it, who would thereupon signify his desire and direction to his Lordship about it And this is the result of that which I think will be my last attempt in reference to the relieving his Majesty against the infirmities in general of Sir John Mennes,¹ having used all industry and faithfulness in the discharging my duty concerning it, and having now before me full reason to despair of better success Only I shall endeavour to effect what I have propounded touching securing his Majesty in the business of balancing of storekeepers' accounts, by getting the charge of it placed upon my Lord Brouncker

June 25, 1669, after the Board's having attended his Royal Highness this morning, and myself returning towards White hall from Brooke House, I met my Lord Brouncker going homewards, whom I accompanied to Bow Street, taking this opportunity of acquainting him with all that passed yesterday between the Duke and me, saving that of Sir Thomas Allen's designation for the Comptrollership and its being the true ground of our present unsuccessfulness in our endeavours touching Sir John Mennes But that I might discharge myself to my Lord as openly as I did to the Duke, and that he may hereafter bear witness to my so doing, I delivered him a copy of this my address to the Duke signed with my own hand, which he perused and keeps, owning my having fully done my part in this great matter, and that he would do the like

¹ Sir John Mennes retained the office of Comptroller until his death in 1671 He was succeeded by Sir Thomas Allin

on his own behalf when he has the next opportunity Upon which I propounded to him our waiting together on the Duke for his Lordship to declare his acceptance of the charge of directing this work of auditing storekeepers' accounts Which his Lordship agreed with me to do on Sunday morning next This discourse was at Madam Williams's,¹ and being ended I departed

Sunday the 27 June, 1669, I met my Lord Brouncker at St James's in the morning, where I had an opportunity, and took it, of desiring his Highness to let my Lord Brouncker know his desires to him in this matter Which the Duke did, by telling his Lordship how acceptable a service it would be for his Lordship to take upon him the care of this further part of Sir John Mennes's duty. Who thereupon expressed some unwillingness to take the work upon his single hand lest, as he said, it should too much afflict the old gentleman to see more of his work taken from him, but declared that he would willingly assist him and see that jointly the work should be well done between them Wherewith the Duke seeming well satisfied with this his Lordship's undertaking and encouraging him therein, and pressing him thereto by repeating what I had before observed to his Highness touching the unanswerableness of any future neglect in this matter, his Lordship declared his resolution to see all failures prevented therein, and so the discourse ended, it being the utmost I could bring it to, though short of what I have laboured for and do think necessary for obtaining such effect on his Majesty's behalf as I aimed at

162 [MS p 608] THE EARL OF SANDWICH TO VISCOUNT
HEREFORD

Whitehall 29 June, 1669

I understand that one of the Burgesses of Parliament for the Town of Alborough² is dead, whereby there is a vacancy for a new choice Encouraged by your Lordship's great expressions of kindness for me I make bold to propound unto

¹ Lord Brouncker's mistress.

² Alborough, Suffolk.

your Lordship my near kinsman, Mr Samuel Pepys, one of the Commissioners of the Navy, as one very fit to serve the public interests in that capacity, and for whose deportment towards your Lordship's concerns I will be answerable unto you, and I believe your Lordship will find the Duke of York promote his election all he can. Upon all which grounds I beg your Lordship's assistance for his election, which will much add to the great obligations your Lordship has already laid upon me

163 [MS p 609] JAMES, DUKE OF YORK, TO LORD HOWARD ¹

1 July, 1669

Advice is lately brought us out of France of the death of Sir Robert Brookes, who served as one of the Burgesses for the Town of Alborough, into whose place I should receive great satisfaction if, by your Lordship's favour, there might be brought Mr Pepys, one of the Commissioners of the Navy, and one in an especial manner qualified for that trust. In order to which, I pray your Lordship's recommendations on his behalf in such manner as to your Lordship shall seem fit, and shall take it as a particular mark of your Lordship's respect

164 [MS p 609] MR THOMAS POVEY ² TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE LORD HENRY HOWARD ¹

1 July, 1669

Understanding that Mr Mariott was this morning appointed to attend you, and the Duke having said the last night that

¹ A later letter of 10 July to Lord Howard is printed from the MS (p 613) in Lord Braybrooke's *Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys* (4th edition) iv 199. Lord Henry Howard the friend of Evelyn and the generous benefactor of the Royal Society and afterwards Duke of Norfolk had been raised to the peerage as Baron Howard of Castle Rising on 27 March 1669, and in April 1669 he had been appointed ambassador extraordinary to Morocco (*DNB* LVIII 33). Although Pepys still addresses him as Lord Henry Howard, he also styles him "your Excellency," so it is probably Evelyn's friend to whom the letter is addressed.

² On Thomas Povey Pepys's predecessor in the office of Treasurer for Tangier see the *Diary*. Although the diarist thought him a fool, he was a good and useful friend.

he would by a letter earnestly recommend to your favour Mr Pepys, a person of whom he hath a very singular esteem, I was bold to prevent that letter by desiring Mr Mariott to acquaint your Lordship how acceptable a thing it would be to his Royal Highness if, upon the intimation given to you by me, you should compliment him with a letter giving up to him your interest at Alborough

Within an hour after I parted this morning from Mr Mariott, the enclosed was brought to me to be conveyed to your Lordship speedily,¹ wherein you may discern a good part of the opinion the Duke hath of the gentleman Who is indeed one of great value with the Duke, and men of business, and may be a very useful, as I am sure he will always be a very grateful servant to your Lordship and your interests on all occasions Which is a principal motive that induces me to be thus far concerned on his behalf, which shall always be a leading consideration with me when I shall take the boldness to interpose in any such cases with your Lordship, because I would in everything relating to your honour and interests move as may best become, Your Excellency's most obedient and faithful servant

165 [MS p 610] S P TO CAPTAIN THOMAS ELLIOT,² at
Alborough

1 July, 1669

Upon the late arrival of the news of Sir Robert Brookes's death who served as one of the Burgesses for the Town of Albrough, his Royal Highness was pleased upon considerations of his own to command me to endeavour after the procurement of the election of myself into this vacancy, an honour which I should not of myself have pretended to, as among other reasons so in particular from my being wholly a stranger to that Corporation But his Royal Highness having been thus pleased to think upon me in it, with a resolution of engaging his whole interest in the accomplishing of it, I think

¹ The words 'Haste haste' are written at the bottom of the letter

² This letter is printed in Braybrooke iv 198 but with an error which obscures the sense of a whole paragraph

it my duty to obey him therein, and in order thereto to direct my first applications to yourself, whom his Royal Highness is pleased to pitch upon as one of whose endeavours in the promoting of all his desire his Highness rests most assured, and in an especial manner relies upon your capacity and influence for doing the same in this particular

The enclosed will deliver you his Highness's mind under his own hand, and more particularly by another from Mr Wren to which I must be referred, having never yet had the good fortune of serving you in anything that might oblige you to the exercise of your interest and kindness on my behalf But as your favour herein will be very acceptable to his Royal Highness, so will it engage not only myself singly but the whole body of this Office upon all future occasions to express their sense of your kindness shewn to one of its members, besides that, if his Highness's desire herein do succeed, I do not despair of having opportunity of shewing myself a faithful and useful servant to the Corporation

I shall not think it needful to offer you any advice touching the method of your proceedings, but submit the whole to your prudence Which I pray you to believe that I will see you fully and thankfully reimbursed for what charges shall attend the same, and pray that you will please to give me a speedy account of your thoughts and advice, how his Royal Highness's influence, or any other recommendations, may be most advantageously employed and directed for the obtaining of these our desires

166 [MS p 611] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

3 July, 1669

. Sir, I am much bound to you for your kindness to my eyes, the ill state of which, I must confess, cuts off most of the comfort of my life, having nothing in view to hope for relief from but the indulgence of my friends, and particularly yourself, in the using of another hand till I may with more safety make use of my own, which I am driven at present to reserve for

cases only of privacy, such as the professions of my duty
service to you shall I hope never be

You hear, I doubt not, of the late miscarriage of Sir Robert
Brookes baising himself¹ in the River of Lyons, into whose
Burgess-ship at Albrough his Royal Highness is pleased with
some earnestness to interest himself in the bringing me He
hath already wrote to my Lord H Howard, to Captain Elliott,
spoke to Sir Henry Felton, and sent his desire to my Lord
Hereford, Alderman Bence, and is pleased to say that he will
spare no other ways of employing his influence in this matter
I am sure I need not purge myself to you for any vanity leading
me to this attempt, and shall therefore only say that it being
a thing which yourself have some time since been pleased to
express some liking of, I thought it not unfit for me to give you
this account of what hath offered towards it, submitting myself
however to be corrected by you in it as upon present thoughts
you shall see reason for it, wherein I beg to hear from you

167 [MS p 612] S P TO HIS EXCELLENCY LORD HENRY
HOWARD²

8 July, 1669

Since it hath pleased the Duke to recommend me to your
Lordship's favour, and that your Lordship hath already ad-
mitted me so far into it as to assure his Royal Highness of your
interest at Alboroug on my behalf, your Lordship hath made
it justifiable, and a duty in me, to address myself to your Lord-
ship in the quality of your servant, who though not consider-
able enough to think I present you anything in giving myself
to your service, yet by virtue of this warrant of his Highness's,
and bringing with me much faithfulness and resolution
to serve your Lordship in whatever capacity I am or may
be in I adventure to give your Lordship my most humble
acknowledgments for the grace you have declared towards
me, accounting it a great measure of success to my pretensions
to be thus far owned, and so publicly, by his Royal Highness
and your Excellency

¹ *I.e.* casting himself down

² See note on p 243 above

it my ſt but that I am with reason apprehenſive of much difficulty and uncertainty likely to be occaſioned by a competition with Mr Duke, the perſon whom your Lordſhip in your letter to his Royal Highneſs pointed at as one whoſe kindneſs his Royal Highneſs might beſpeak towards me, and whom his Highneſs in that confidence commanded me to bring to St James's, which by the aſſiſtance of Mr Corey (who has been pleaſed moſt induſtriouſly to purſue your Lordſhip's commands in this matter) I attempted with ſuch ſucceſs as to obtain from Mr Duke a promiſe not only of ſubmitting to but promoting his Highneſs's and your Lordſhip's deſires in this matter, and acquieſcing ſatisfactorily in the expectations of his ſucceeding Sir John Holland, and this with expreſſions ſo full, in the apprehenſions as well of Mr Corey as myſelf, as to lead me to report to his Highneſs and Mr Wren this his concurrence, to his Highneſs's great ſatisfaction, though upon newer counſels Mr Duke has thought fit to reſume his pretenſions in behalf of himſelf, and to declare to his Highneſs and us his deſire of adhering to the ſame, urging that your Lordſhip having enjoyed your influence heretofore in the election of Sir John Holland without any in that of Sir Robert Brookes, he held not himſelf obliged to give way to your Lordſhip's interpoſition in the preſent vacancy So that nothing but oppoſition is to be looked for from Mr Duke who, impatient of the uſe your Lordſhip's influence may be to him upon the death of, Sir John Holland (wherein his Highneſs alſo was pleaſed to offer him his aſſiſtance), ſeems reſolved to purſue the applications he had already made to the Town on his own behalf

It hath nevertheless pleaſed his Royal Highneſs, as well by his own word and letters as of his ſecretaries and others, to make way for the accompliſhing his deſire in this affair, being very ſenſible of your Lordſhip's generous concurrence therein Of the ſucceſs of which I ſhall neither be confident of nor deſpair, but continue my endeavours what I well may towards it, until I ſhall be enabled to make better judgment of the encouragements given me to expoſe myſelf and intereſt at the day of election

168 [MS p 614] JAMES, DUKE OF YORK, TO THE
OF ALBUROUGH IN SUFFOLK ¹

16 July, 1669

Being informed of the death of Sir Robert Brookes, served in Parliament as one of the Burgesses of your Corporation, I recommend to your favour in your future election, Samuel Pepys, Esquire, one of the Commissioners of the Navy, who besides his general qualifications for that trust will, I assure myself, be found on all occasions a useful servant to your town. And what kindness he shall receive from you in this matter I shall esteem as a testimony of your respect to me

169 [MS p 614] MR WREN TO CAPTAIN SHIPMAN

Whitehall, 16 July, 1669

Though you may by Sir Henry Felton and others have heard of his Royal Highness's desire that you would give your assistance in bringing Mr Pepys to be elected to serve in Parliament for the Town of Aldborough in the room of Sir Robert Brookes, his Royal Highness being informed of the very good interest you have in the place does not think that enough, but has commanded me to write expressly to you in his name, and to assure you that knowing Mr Pepys cannot expect a good issue of his affair without your assistance, in case he has good success in it his Royal Highness will own it to be an effect of your respect to him, and will be ready upon any real occasion to acknowledge it to you

170 [MS p 616] LORD HOWARD ² TO THE TOWN OF
ALDBURGH

Plymouth, 22 July, 1669

I being now by the command of his Majesty sent upon his service beyond the seas,² have nevertheless had an opportunity, by the death of Sir Robert Brooke, of which I had notice a little before my embarking, to consider your interests in the

¹ This letter has been printed already (in Braybrooke iv 199) but it is inserted here to complete the series of letters relating to the Aldeburgh election

² See note on p 243 above.

it my s^t of a gentleman to serve you in his place as one of your mytyesses, holding myself much concerned in any good or 'with M^t may happen to you and your town In this particular to his^y easily suppose your prudence will lead you to elect Roy^a a person as may most probably be useful to you as you High^t port town and a Corporation, and persons who are capable Ja receiving many advantages from the assistance of one who may be able and ready, by his employment and by his favour with his Royal Highness, as well as his opportunities in Parliament, to be very serviceable to you

I have been always desirous to preserve your liberties, especially in elections of Parliament But such hath been my affection to you, and my expectation of a respect from you which I have found on many occasions, that I have sometimes thought fit to propose one to you worthy of your choice, which I do at this time also in Mr Samuel Pepys, one of the Commissioners, and an active and able Officer, for the managing the affairs of the Navy I may with some assurance say that it will not be easy for you to find a person every way so qualified for this choice, whether you consider his great and known abilities, or his capacities of serving you, or the inclinations of the Duke our Admiral, who with many expressions of particular value and favour hath owned him to me and others that may have an influence upon this election

And now I well believe that you will find reason to have the same fair opinion of this gentleman as I have, by the extraordinary character many ways given to me of him I leave him therefore to your favour and election, not doubting but you will do what becomes sober men and such as are desirous to oblige and be obliged by me, who on all occasions shall be ready to manifest to you that I am and shall be [a friend?] to your Corporation or to any person that shall deserve well from me in it

171 [MS p 615] MR WREN TO DR CLARKE

Whitehall, 23 July, 1669

If I had not met you when I was to seek you, the troubles you now received had ended in a glass of [wine] and in an

hour's mirth, but I hope the request I have to make to you will meet as good reception as if I had taken for it some of those *mollia tempora fandi*. Your interest with Captain Shipman is, I am told, so good that he cannot refuse anything you ask of him, and though several good ways are made use of to engage him to assist Mr Pepys in his election at Aldborough, we cannot think ourselves secure unless your credit also be employed in it, which I earnestly desire you may be. I can assure you that ¹ it will be very acceptable to his Highness, and the most welcome thing that can happen to, Sir,
Your very humble servant

172 [MS p 618] S P TO THE [NAVY] BOARD

24 July, 1669

According to my late motion, I take leave once more to lay before you the consideration of the condition wherein this Office stands in reference to the demands of the Commissioners of Accounts, some of which have been with us more than a year and [a] half without any capacity on our parts to return any joint answer, by reason of the want the Board hath ¹lain under of the previous helps asked and expected from its respective members

Touching which I shall spare the troubling you with the repetition of anything I have heretofore wrote or said on this subject, and particularly in my letter and account of the 9th of February last, and at present in general only say that the Board, having not for many months backward received the least intimation from any of its members touching any further supplies to be expected from them towards the satisfying the Commissioners of Accounts, I conceive it fruitless and therefore unsafe for the Board to forbear longer the doing their parts in reference to this matter, and consequently offer it as my humble advice that you would forthwith resolve, either upon some joint answer to return to the said Commissioners in the common defence of the Office by laying before them the true ground of its incapacity to give them satisfaction, or

¹ MS 'what

Not each man to such fair ways of doing himself right therein
 . . . its particular case shall admit of
 with & one particular there is, namely, that of the list of ships
 to be voyed since the beginning of the War, which I shall singly
 Royalton, in regard of the special consideration the Board had
 lightat part of my said account which relates to this matter,
 Ja enjoining their respective clerks to meet together for ad-
 justing their several lists of ships according to the form my
 own was then tendered in, and suitable to the method of the
 said Commissioners' demand In pursuance of which the
 clerks accordingly met, first at my office and then (for their
 easier resort to the ships' books) at the Ticket Office, but with
 so ill success that, partly from the total imperfectness of some
 of the lists, and partly from the broken attendance of the said
 clerks, some of whom also being, by occasions of pays or other-
 wise, called out of town, and particularly Mr Maddockes, who
 attended on behalf of the Treasurer (from whom to this day
 the Board hath not yet received any list), we seem as far from
 any present ability to answer the said Commissioners in this
 point as we were 12 months since Which appearing to me a
 matter of unanswerable reproach to the Office, I beg leave
 to renew my motion, either for sending away our lists severally
 prepared according to the light given us by the books and
 papers of our distinct offices, or that you would be pleased
 forthwith to resolve upon special meetings of the Board to
 see that finished by your own hand which I despair of ever
 finding done (at least as it ought to be) while committed to
 others

173 [MS p 619] S P TO SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY

24 July, 1669

I am exceedingly satisfied from yours of the 5th instant to
 understand that his Royal Highness's desires touching my
 election at Albrough meets with so much concurrence in yours,
 and for this encouragement am become a little concerned that
 what his Highness hath thought fit to command therein, and
 yourself thus approve of, should not be prevented in its success

from the want of any fair endeavours of my part towards it, amongst which the timely bespeaking the interest of my friends is one Upon which account I now adventure the giving you the present trouble, desiring you will be thinking yourself of any applications which I may laudably make on this occasion and at your leisure to give me notice of them, which freedom I beg you to excuse, and know you will

[*Postscript*] Captain Elliott is lately returned to Albrough, from whom I daily expect an account of his proceedings there The Duke and Mr Wren are both solicitous, and the latter gave me yesterday a very earnest letter to Dr Clarke, who serves the Duke in the Admiralty there and hath very good influence

174 [MS p 620] S P TO CAPTAIN ELLIOT

3 August, 1669

I have received your very kind letter of the 28th of the last, for which I give you very many thanks The Duke is at present out of town, and so am not able to signify that from him which I doubt not but I shall at his return, which I expect in very few days

In the mean time I desire you to let me know by the next whether, upon your first acquainting Captain Shippman with the Duke's desire in this matter, you did find him to have been informed of the death of Sir Robert Brookes, and to have concerned himself before that time in the making way for bringing Mr Duke into the place of Sir Robert, he pretending (as I am informed) that he had proceeded very far in this matter for Mr Duke before he heard anything of the Duke's mind Though from the discourse I first had with you on this subject I have reason to believe the contrary I understand that, as close as by your letter he would seem to carry himself to you, he does openly profess himself engaged to stand by Mr Duke, and declares that the Corporation is generally dissatisfied with the person the Duke has named, as being wholly a stranger to them, whereas (as I remember) you told me his friend Sir Robert Brookes was as little known

in the town himself, and that even Mr Duke's interest at present (though a freeman) is not much considerable Which being so, I entreat you to endeavour to understand Captain Shippman's inclinations a little more fully, that so I may be able to give his Royal Highness a true account of him, and what you shall think advisable to be done by his Highness in reference both to Mr Duke and Mr Bence For as I do believe his Royal Highness will omit nothing that is fit for him to do for the compassing his desire in this business, so I should be sorry, in reference to the Duke's honour and ours that serve him, that he should miss the fruits of what he hath done already

175 [MS p 622] S P TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF ACCOUNTS

18 August, 1669

To your commands of the 2nd instant requiring an account of what naval provisions have been by me sold to any of his Majesty's officers and delivered for his Majesty's use into any of his stores, yards, or elsewhere since the first of September 1664, I humbly make you this answer, that I have not, either within the time here mentioned or any other, directly or indirectly, by myself or in partnership, sold to any of his Majesty's officers for the use of his Majesty any naval provisions, either of the species by you enumerated or any other whatsoever

Which answer being delivered in terms both plain and fully adequate, as I think, to each circumstance of your question, and such also as I am ready to confirm by my oath, I should not think it needful to give your Lordships, etc, or myself any further trouble on this subject, were it not that my desire of being ever found studious of your satisfaction will not suffer me to neglect the least hint of any matter relating either to this Office in general or myself in particular wherein you appear desirous of any information within my power to give you

From whence it is that, remembering myself to have been in an especial manner concerned in the making a provision of one species of the stores named in your letter, viz, flags, I thought it my duty (without other asking) to present to you the follow-

Abchurch Lane), of whom buying several picces of bewpers, I caused some of them to be wrought into flags, which you will find delivered to the King at 5*d* per yard, and the other in stuffs at 3*d* $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{2}$, the former near 17 per cent, the latter, including also the three farthings per yard the making, about 23 per cent cheaper than the price the flagmakers then received from this Office, yet the stuffs such in their quality as the Board found cause to pitch upon them for the patterns to be followed by the flagmakers in their future deliveries, as will appear to your Lordships by the annexed copy of their warrant to the storckeeper at Deptford dated 7 December, 1664

Lastly, for what respects myself, I do affirm that the satisfaction arising from my apprehension of having done his Majesty this service timely and to his profit is the only advantage I ever received from this action, being ready to justify, both by oath and other evidence, my being no gainer in the bewpers and a loser to the value of above 300 yards of cloth in the calicoes, besides the disbursing for a time no small sums of my own money, together with the care and attendance this matter called for from me at a season wherein, as I could uneasily spare either, so for your Lordships' better judging the sense I then had of this burthen, give me leave to lay before you a letter of mine of the 15 December, 1664, to the storekeeper at Portsmouth, with which shutting up your present trouble, I remain, My Lords and Gentlemen, Your most obedient servant

176 [MS p 628] S P TO CAPTAIN ELLIOT, at Albrough

19 August, 1669

Whatever be the success of your present labour on my behalf, I pray be assured that I shall never fail to acknowledge my obligations to your kindness therein, and in particular for your letter of the 5 instant brought me by the gentlemen you therein mention and who have done me the favour to visit me, and I hope do return satisfied in that point upon which I do wonder from what ground any question could be raised, my education at the University at the same time with Sir

Robert Brookes, and the whole practice of my life, both past and present, giving testimony of my being no Papist, besides the duty of my place, which obliges me not only to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy but to administer it myself to every man that takes the charge as master of any of the King's ships

They acquaint me with another suspicion which is scattered about, that the letter to the Town from the Duke is not real but pretended, a calumny so scandalous that I am sorry to find such indirect means used to prevent the Duke in his desire who has so abundantly declared himself therein, not only to yourself and several others but to Mr Duke¹ and Alderman Bence² themselves. But since they have done it, I shall find a way to give my friends satisfaction in such a manner as I hope shall not only clear that doubt but give them to see what dealings they are to expect from persons that will serve themselves by such unfair helps as these

To your letter of the 9th you shall receive answer by the post, this coming by the gentlemen above mentioned, whom I desire you to thank for their kindness to me and assure them of all the good offices which I in my place may do them, and which I hope are not inferior to the best they can expect from either of those who oppose the Duke's desires in this matter

177 [MS p 629] MR THOMAS POVEY TO MR THOMAS CORY,
at Aldborough

21 August, 1669

I gave you no answer to yours from Norwich because you tell me you were to be in present motion, nor will it be necessary to say much to you concerning Thetford, having in my first bespoke your care of my Lord Howard's interest in my own person, and by my second in the person of Mr Williamson I receive from all hands a general concurrence and certainty as to my own election but less assurance or probability of effecting Mr Williamson's, to whom I do most cheerfully resign

¹ Possibly George Duke, the Secretary of the Fishery Commission

² Alderman J. Bence was Secretary to the Royal African Society

my private concernment, but you must in prudence, and in relation to our trust to my Lord Howard, take an especial care that we do not sacrifice our superior interest, either by giving occasion to any other pretender or by having it supposed that our weakness or diffidence drives us to the expedient of joining ourselves to any other interest. Both which we have reason to consider well of, because Woodhouse begins to pretend as a neighbour, and Sir A. Apsley¹ and others are busy in declaring (and writing also) that my impotency makes me civil to my Lord Arlington and Mr Williamson, and that the more prevalent interest of Kendall can only do them effectual service, and do therefore offer their services to my Lord Arlington as if from them Mr Williamson were to receive his preferency. Which matter we must with plainness and openness on all hands bring to a better understanding, for in this case, though I am willing to desert myself, I may not consent that the House of Norfolk suffer.

In which behalf and in respect to my other friend, Mr Pepys (who is and will be worthy of our utmost esteem and services), I now press you that you exercise your best arts and contrivances on his behalf, and that you refuse those lies and those malicious prejudices which are studiously raised and scattered against the person of Mr Pepys the interest of my Lord Howard, and the integrity of some of his servants.

The scandal foully and grossly dispersed of his being a Papist seems not to want much defence, but as it is a scandal, and raised by device and design to repossess and infect the simplest and the most of the electors, who being of the meanest sort do easily believe, you are not to disdain the giving satisfaction even in that particular, so that it may be as spreading and convincing as the falsity hath been.

And because it is impudently averred that my Lord Howard's letters have neither his assent, hand or seal, it will be necessary you produce the several letters and instruc-

¹ Sir Allen Apsley was Treasurer of the Household of the Duke of York, and he sat as M.P. for Thetford from 1661 to 1678. Pepys refers to him in the *Diary*.

tions of my Lord, especially that which you will receive enclosed, which his Lordship did Mr Pepys the honour to write to him with his own hand, which will be a sufficient demonstration that his Lordship was not unconsulted or unconsenting but warmly and passionately engaged on his behalf And because it is urged that some servant of my Lord hath said that it was not signed with his own hand, it will befit you at what pains or price soever to enquire out that treacherous person, that he may hereafter be better understood and considered accordingly

It is not necessary I should add more because I intend that this shall speak to you upon the place, where you will be in condition to solicit this whole matter with full effect And I doubt not but Mr Pepys will send you a smart letter from Mr Wren to Shipman,¹ and that the Sir Allens will be conjured by his Royal Highness to suppress the stirrings of Duke, seeing that it was apparently by their encouragement that this fell from his better inclinations of complying with the pleasure of his Royal Highness sufficiently expressed to him I now leave these concernments in your hands, not doubting but you will discharge yourself as a prudent person still worthy of the esteem of, Sir, Your affectionate and humble servant

[*Postscript*] I fear I may mistake the name when I call that grandee Yeomans who is concerned for Duke

.. 178 [MS p 631] MR WREN TO CAPTAIN SHIPMAN, at Aldeburgh ²

21 August, 1669

Your letter of the 29 of July last does make known to me your resolution in the matter of the Burgess-ship of Aldburgh now vacant by the death of Sir Robert Brooke, but I must desire your excuse in not admitting the reason you give me for it of being engaged for Mr Duke long before his Royal Highness's desires in favour of Mr Pepys were made known to you For I do very well know that at the very same time

¹ The next letter

² The MS here uses the form of the place-name which has been adopted for modern use

that you first heard of the death of Sir Robert Brooke you were also moved to comply with his Royal Highness in the election of Mr Pepys, and within a few days the letter came to your hands which by his Royal Highness's commands I wrote expressly to you about it, which does wholly take off that pretence you make of your pre-engagement to Mr Duke

I am sorry that you allow so little interest in you to Sir H Felton,¹ Dr Clarke, and others of your friends who undertook to his Royal Highness for you, nay, I will go further, and say I am sorry that you do so little consider the interest of the Town of Aldborough² where you live, for though I acknowledge that Mr Duke is a very honest and a very worthy gentleman, yet I may, without losing any of the respect which I owe to him, say that in this case a sea-port town as Aldborough² is cannot prudently put him in the balance with his Royal Highness's desire and the capacity Mr Pepys is in of doing them service, who, though perhaps he may be unknown to some of the inhabitants of Aldeburgh,³ is, I assure you, very well known and valued by the City, by the Court, and by the Parliament itself His Royal Highness does resolve to give Mr Pepys what assistance he can, and when it comes to the election I make no doubt that the major part of your Town will be sensible that it is their interest to gratify him in it I hope Captain Shipman will also think it fit for him to have his share in this obligation, and will not throw away this opportunity of making a title to the kindness⁴ of his Royal Highness

179 [MS p 632] MR WREN TO CAPTAIN ELLIOT, one of the Bailiffs at Aldeburgh

21 August, 1669

Mr Pepys lately shewed me the letter which he has received from you concerning his business at Aldborough, and I find the Duke has reason to thank you for your zeal and activity in it I very much wonder that anybody should go about

¹ Sir Henry Felton Bart., of Playford Suffolk, is referred to in the *Diary* (5 June, 1665)

² So spelt in the MS

³ So spelt in the MS

⁴ MS 'kingdom

to persuade themselves or others that his Royal Highness is not heartily concerned in this business, or that it is indifferent to him who is chosen. It is very true that his Royal Highness bears great respect to all gentlemen of Mr Duke's quality, but having interested himself by writing his letter for Mr Pepys, he resolves to pursue it as far as he can, and by the assistance of you and other friends hopes for good success in it

180 [MS p 633] S P TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF ACCOUNTS

25 November, 1669

I thought it my duty to give your Lordships an account of my advance in the work devolved on my single hand, of providing satisfaction for your Lordships on behalf of this Board to your late observations upon some proceedings of theirs in reference to the late War. Wherein I am now become so forward as to be able to undertake for its delivery to your Lordships on Saturday or Monday morning next at the furthest ¹

Which as I hope it may prove seasonable to your Lordships, so the other parts of his Majesty's service calling for my daily attendance, together with the importance of the matter and the sorrowful interruption lately given me by the sickness and death of my wife,² will (I trust) excuse me to your Lordships for your having not received it sooner

181 [MS p 634] S P TO VISCOUNT BROUNCKER

9 December, 1669

I did not this morning think the Board a proper place, nor do now judge this so fit a time, to trouble your Lordship with what I had then and have since learned touching the paper his Royal Highness gave us expectation of yesterday,

¹ The account here referred to dated 27 November, 1669 is printed, with considerable omissions, in Granville Penn *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, ii 543-6, as also a second letter, dated 6 January, 1669-70 (ii 551-7). The originals of both letters are in B M, Ayscough MSS, 2751

² Mrs Pepys had died on 10 November

and which proves no other than the copy of those propositions I now understand to have in my absence been sent from him to the Board in order to the framing some amendments in the proceedings thereof Which paper his Majesty it seems did lately take up in his Laboratory at Whitehall, wrote by the hand of one of my clerks, Mr Gibson,¹ who having issued none but [by] your Lordship's particular direction, and been therein so faithful to your injunctions of secrecy as to have kept me to this day wholly unacquainted therewith, I cannot doubt but the paper here found by his Majesty must through Sir Robert Murry's² have been derived from your Lordship's hand Though I shall not enquire into the reasons why your Lordship has been pleased in my absence not only to exclude my Deputy from the knowledge thereof, as less worthy than a servant³ of the Treasurer's (who as I understand assisted at all the debates of the Board thereon), but since my return forborne both the making any further progress therein at the Board and communicating to myself either the matter of the said paper or (which my place rather called for) the paper itself But my present purpose, my Lord, is chiefly the telling your Lordship that, as I am confident nothing wherein your Lordship hath taken so much pains can deserve any such suppression, so I cannot remember what occasion I have ever given your Lordship of baulking me in any attempts towards that great work of regulating the Office wherein your Lordship hath been so long acquainted with my particular sentiments and endeavours And do therefore earnestly pray you will be pleased to go on with the said propositions, that while we shall be permitted to continue in our present trust his Majesty may not want the benefit of our best experiences for improving our methods, though your Lordship cannot be less sensible than myself that the past and present failures of this Office are not so much chargeable on the defects of its theory as the infirmities of the hands entrusted with the practice thereof

¹ See note on p. 68 above

² Sir Robert Moray or Murray is several times referred to in the *Diary* He was one of the founders of the Royal Society

³ *Marginal note* "Mr Hutchinson"

182 [MS p 652] S P TO MR ANTHONY STEPHENS¹

8 March, 1669[-70]

I doubt not but you may have heard how at the close of my late conflicts with Brook House² in support of this Office against the vanity, frowardness, and injustice of their observations thereon, and in which I proved so happy as to leave his Majesty and my Lords of the Council under a satisfaction too great for Brook House to admit of my quiet going away with, my Lord Brereton³ and Colonel Thompson⁴ endeavoured the making themselves some small amends for their ill success in what related to the Office in general by fastening on me (as they thought) a parting blow in a point relating to myself, wherein (upon just provocation) I had taken the liberty some days since of giving the whole world, and in particular my Lord Brereton, a firm defiance namely, in my having been at any time interested in any of the practices by them suggested relating to tickets, or so much as in the payment or receipt of, or any other sort of concernment in, any one ticket (true or false) from the beginning of the War to this day

This, and the vindication of themselves from the reproach of having charged Mr Pepys with somewhat out of their power to justify, was made the ground of producing at their last attendance on his Majesty a ticket of one John Capps, for his service in the *Lion*, amounting to nine pounds seven shillings, at the bottom of which ticket were writ these words, "Paid Mr Pepys", urging withal that Mr Stephens, servant to the Treasurer of the Navy, had upon oath made before them not only owned the writing of those words but avowed the truth thereof in fact as to the payment of this ticket to me

Upon which, and my perusal of the ticket, I must confess I was not a little sorry to find your hand and oath (on the credit whereof I durst till then have had my whole fortune depending) quoted in a particular I knew most false, as having from a resolution not only rooted in me from the infancy of

¹ See note on p 75 above² See note on p 192 above³ William, 3rd Lord Brereton of Leaghlin in Ireland, was one of the Commissioners of Public Accounts (see *Diary*, 12 December 1667)⁴ Colonel George Thomson was also one of the Commissioners

are disposed to raise upon it, seems to be designed to do you a greater prejudice than is fit for me to permit without giving you notice of it. It is that you have of your own head, without precedent, as well as without the advice, or so much as the privity, of this Board or the Commissioner upon the place, presumed to lay aside the old secure practice of fastening your beams in your new ships with standards and knees, and in the room thereof taken upon you to do it with iron. An experiment which they would represent as the more extravagant, as being made upon a ship of such value as that you are now building.¹

Whether you have done this for dispatch, husbandry, or any other convenience, or reduced to it by necessity, I shall not enquire. But the complaint has reached as far as the King and Duke, in whose presence hearing the matter urged, and that not without some expressions of dissatisfaction in them, I took liberty to say that I doubted not but that if the matter were in fact true, you would be able to give them a reasonable account of your proceedings therein, and therefore prayed that they would suspend their censure concerning it till I had wrote and received your answer about it, which his Majesty and Royal Highness readily granted me. I desire that you will draw up such an answer speedily to this matter, directing it either to the Board or me, grounded upon mine to you, for the satisfaction of his Royal Highness and them, and let it be so as may be fit for me to shew to the King and Duke.

The matter I believe springs from Mr Steventon,² his name having been used in it, but as I am confident your understanding, so I do not doubt but your care on his Majesty's behalf and prudence on your own is such as cannot have misled you to the doing anything in this matter beyond your ability to justify, and therefore am not in any pain for you, though I shall always have a regard to the preservation of your esteem with his Majesty and his Royal Highness, and therefore wish myself armed to do you right in this particular.

¹ Probably the *James Royal* 1st-rate, which Deane was building at Portsmouth. She was finished in 1671.

² Probably William Hewer's uncle at Portsmouth see *Diary*, 22 August, 1662.

184 [MS p 647] THE PRESENT STATE OF THE NAVY,
9 MAY, 1670

The Present State of the Navy in reference to its wants of money, as the same is to be opened in discourse before his Majesty, his Royal Highness, and the Lords of the Treasury by the Principal Officers and Commissioners of the Navy this 9 of May, 1670

The Debt of the Navy for services done and goods delivered at and before the last of December 1669 amounts to—

	<i>l</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>l</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
	458,991	9	1 $\frac{1}{4}$				
Whereof proper to { The year 1669	36,590	7	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	}	458	991	09 1 $\frac{1}{4}$
{ Preceding years	422,401	1	6 $\frac{1}{4}$				

The charge of the present year 1670 upon the works and services already in hand, must per estimate amount to

to			363 120 4 0			
	Ordinary		80 000 0 0			
Whereof for the	{ Charge of the present fleet, manned (as it now is) with 5279 men in 50 ships	{	265 920 4 0	{ 363,120 04 0		
					{ Finishing the 5 new ships now in building	{ 17,200 0 0

The several extraordinary works undermentioned, which seeming necessarily to be provided for, we think it our duties seasonably to lay before his Majesty amounts to—

to—			<i>l</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>	
			84	061	0	0
	{	The general repairs of the hulls of his Majesty s ships together with the wharfs docks and storehouses etc , in his several yards	52,929	0	0	}
viz		The supplying his Majesty s stores with materials wanting for the rigging ground tackle, boat-swains and carpenters sea stores, for all his Majesty s Navy for twelve months				
						84 061 0 0

So the total requisite to be supplied the Navy for discharge of the debt for the years past and defraying the expense of the present together with the general repair of his Majesty s ships and replenishing his stores amounts to the sum of

906 172 13 1 $\frac{1}{4}$

Which is in all humility tendered to the consideration of his most Sacred Majesty

Memorandum That this having been prepared by me by direction (some days before) of the King and Duke at the Treasury Chamber, to have been presented to him upon the 9 of May 1670, and his Majesty's coming to the Treasury Chamber being prevented that day, it was by especial appointment presented and read by me upon the 11th ditto in the afternoon, after Council, to his Majesty, in presence of his Highness and the Lords of the Treasury, with five of my fellow-Officers and the Officers of the Ordnance, who came thither with the like representation of matters relating to their Office, and being so read and opened by me in discourse, it was by his Majesty committed to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to be considered, and answered by suitable supplies of money

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185 [MS p 644] S P TO CAPTAIN DEANE, Portsmouth
Shipwright

12 May, 1670

Yesterday I had a fair opportunity of reading your letter to his Majesty, in presence of his Royal Highness, Sir Thomas Osborne,¹ Sir Jeremy Smith,² Sir Thomas Littleton,¹ and Colonel Middleton,³ wherein I had a pleasure of meeting with his Majesty's full satisfaction, he (notwithstanding what some did continue to offer to the contrary) declaring that he could not believe but the method used by you must be stronger than the old, and that if he had any doubt about it, it was that it was rather too strong, and would not leave the ship so loose as perhaps might be requisite for her to be, as also that this would probably be somewhat more chargeable than the old. But upon perusing your letter himself a second time, he was so satisfied in it, and defended it so well against those that would oppose it, that they were silenced, and confessed that

¹ Osborne and Littleton were joint Treasurers of the Navy

² Comptroller of the Victualler's Accounts

³ Surveyor of the Navy

they did not think nor had understood that you had proceeded in the method your letter now discovers

Another circumstance happened afterwards to fall in discourse touching the business of the lac-work, which (and I am apt to believe with somewhat more reason than was exercised in your case) some persons took upon them to speak very much to the prejudice of Whereto the King with no little earnestness replied that he would as soon believe his own eyes and Mr Deane's as any of them all, and that therefore he would not alter his opinion of it, but that it was a very useful invention and that he would go on to make some further experiment of it

I thought fit to add this particular, as well for your satisfaction in the King's fair opinion of you as your instruction of how much moment it is of and may be to you by the continuance of your industry and faithfulness to preserve it Towards which rest assured of all good offices from, Your most affectionate friend and servant

186 [MS p 657] S P TO JAMES, DUKE OF YORK

18 *February*, 1670[-1]
Nine in the morning

By the time this comes to your Royal Highness's hand Sir John Mennes (who now lies expiring¹) will undoubtedly be no more Sir, were it a work in other respects fit for me to become a recommender of a successor, I assure your Royal Highness I have none either in my eye or wish to name to you, much less the least ambition of having myself thought on for it, who do most willingly and knowingly declare myself in many regards unfit for that charge That therefore which I mean by this address is only to repeat at his death what the infirmities of this gentleman while living have several times given me occasion of offering to your Royal Highness's consideration, namely, that upon my utmost observation I do not know one employment (whether in the Navy or any other part of his Majesty's public service) calling for a greater measure of integrity, experience, vigour of body, and vivacity of mind,

¹ Sir John Mennes died on the day this letter was written.

with a disposition to the taking pains in both, or where defect in any one of these is of worse importance either to the weal of his Majesty's service or well husbanding of his treasure, than that of the Comptroller of the Navy Which from my fresh and sorrowful experience of the truth of, in its unhappy consequences to the King under the long weaknesses of Sir John Mennes, I humbly beg your Royal Highness's pardon in taking this moment of offering it to your Royal Highness's meditation

Memorandum This was sent by Mr Griffith and by him convey[ed] to the Duke's hand then sitting in the House of Lords

187 [MS p 662] S P to MR GIBSON, Agent at Port Mahon

14 June, 1671

* * * * *

As to the proposition of having the victualling of this fleet done by Commission,¹ unless it be the rendering the supplies of it less certain, I know not anything to be objected to it, but on the contrary am satisfied of many conveniencies that would attend it, besides the saving of money to the King But partly from the want of a good prospect how soon the War may end, and partly from a backwardness of burthening myself any more with the care and envy of carrying on things against tide whilst those who are more properly concerned to do it either neglect to assist or (which happens more often) labour to oppose another's more thoughtful endeavours in this kind, I have hitherto let the business stand as it is, and am still likely to do so unless upon your discoursing the matter with Sir Edward Spragg it might come recommended to the Duke or the Board from him, and then no pains of mine should be wanting to the carrying of it on

* * * * *

¹ On the victualling of the Navy by Commission instead of by contract see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS*, i 180-183 The system was not adopted until 1683

188 [MS p 667] S P TO JAMES, DUKE OF YORK

29 April, 1672

From the accustomed liberty your Royal Highness has been always pleased to indulge me, of offering my humble opinion in matters relating to his Majesty's service within my observation, and particularly on this subject when I waited the last year on your Highness at Newmarket, I take the boldness, being pressed thereto by the daily instances met with of what the service suffers by the imperfect execution of the Surveyor's place in the Navy, to renew the motion I then made to your Royal Highness that you would be pleased to order Commissioner Tippetts (who by patent is already constituted the Surveyor's assistant) to execute the standing duty of that office at this Board, while Colonel Middleton may continue (as he now is at Chatham) serving his Majesty as a Commissioner in one of the yards, for which as he cannot be denied to be much fitter qualified than that of the Surveyorship¹ so is it most manifest that the vigour and method wherewith Commissioner Tippetts manages what is committed to him do, together with his experienced abilities in the Navy as a master shipwright, qualify him beyond most if not any man now in view for the execution of this place. In which place (of as much importance as it is to the life of this Office that every part thereof be fully executed) such has ever been and is at this time our condition that we can in no wise have any ready or certain account given us of the state either of the receipts, issues, or remains of stores, or any account kept of the time or method observed in the making or answering demands, or the supplying the officers of ships with stores, or bringing them to a timely account for their expense. To the truth of which, if your Highness think it needful, the whole Board if demanded will, I am confident, join their testimony, it being on these express considerations that, amongst other things, they have com

¹ Pepys's suggestion was carried out, for in September, 1672 Colonel Thomas Middleton who had been Surveyor since November 1667, was transferred to Chatham and John Tippetts formerly Commissioner at Portsmouth who since the beginning of July had been acting as a Assistant to the Surveyor, was appointed Surveyor in his place.

you lay aside your expectations of good success, but to caution you against the worst effects of bad A doctrine which I the rather press upon you, from the trouble that it in some degree gives me that I no sooner learnt it myself

So with my blessing to my god son¹ and love and service to all, I remain, Your very affectionate brother and servant

190 [MS p 675] S P. TO [SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY]

Navy Office, 20 August, 1672

I have this day received yours of the 14 instant, and in the first place have taken effectual care with Colonel Middleton at Chatham that the shallop built there for the Comte D'Estrées² shall (as his Royal Highness commands me) be in readiness for his service against the coming in of the fleet

Next, I do acknowledge myself to be obliged (even to the highest degree) to the goodness of his Royal Highness for preventing so graciously the desires and aims which I must confess I have been long encouraged to have, of being a member of Parliament, not so much, I do assure you, out of any ambition as the just consideration of those opportunities it might give me of doing his Majesty and Royal Highness better service in the station I am now in, having too many instances before me of the prejudice and disadvantages the affairs of the Admiralty and Navy, and the King's service in both, have fallen into and with difficulty been afterwards delivered from, for want of the timely remedy which a few hands in Parliament thoroughly conversant in those affairs might with ease enough have administered I beseech you, Sir, to represent me with all possible duty and thankfulness to his Royal Highness, to whom I shall ever acknowledge my owing both my self and fortunes, whatever they either are or hereafter can happen to be

I beg you too to give the enclosed to my Lord Howard³, to whom I can do no less than make my civil acknowledgment of his favour to me in this matter

My obligations to yourself I do in like manner with uttermost

¹ St Michel's son Samuel

² The Admiral of the French Fleet

thankfulness own, and doubt not to interest more than myself in the debt your civilities have and are laying upon me

[*Postscript*] I have been unhappy in my not receiving the letter you are pleased to mention touching his Highness's goodness to me in my own affair, and should be much bound to you for your supplying it to me, either by a copy or otherwise as you shall think fit

[ENCLOSURE]

*S P to Lord Howard*¹

[20 August, 1672]

Having by his Royal Highness's appointment understood his Highness's recommending me with success to your Lordship for the Burgess-ship of Riseing, upon the expected removal of Sir Robert Paston to the House of Lords,² I hold it my duty to make this my humble and thankful acknowledgment of it to your Lordship. Not that I dare imagine your Lordship's favour to me therein arises from any other consideration than that of my being an humble creature of his Royal Highness's, but that the assurance I have of his Highness's devoting me to your service no less than favour, together with a due sense of my former obligations on the like occasion to your Lordship, makes it duty in me to tender your Lordship my most humble thanks, and faithfullest engagement of employing the capacity your Lordship shall herein give me to the particular use and service of the House of Norfolk and of that country whereto so many advantages, both of honour and protection, have arisen from your noble person, by whom I shall ever be ambitious of being conducted and commanded

191 [MS p 687] *S P TO THE EARL MARSHAL OF ENGLAND*,³
at Norwich

Whitehall, 7 August, 1673

His Royal Highness has been pleased himself to give me the

¹ Henry, Baron Howard of Castle Rising, afterwards 6th Duke of Norfolk

² This did not take place until 19 August 1673, when he was created Baron Paston and Viscount Yarmouth

³ Lord Howard had been created Earl of Norwich and hereditary Earl Marshal in October 1672, and in the following December he had succeeded to the Dukedom of Norfolk. His reply to this letter, dated 15 August, is printed in Smith, *Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys*,¹ 140

Next to this, I am to own my debt to yourself in accepting with so much good will the second part of the trouble you have heretofore gone thorough for me on the like occasion. A debt so ill discharged as would put me out of countenance to think of the new score I am running into with you, were it not for the satisfaction I have found you take in these generous offices towards your friends and the hopes I have of finding it one day in my power to shew the value I have of your friendship by an opportunity of serving you,—if not in anything relating to yourself, yet in some cast of my small office towards my friend your son, of whom I should in order thereto be glad at your leisure to be informed.

In the course of your kindness to me in this matter, I beg you will not spare to direct me in all that's fit for me to do therein, either as to personal attendance on the place, or the charges such an affair necessarily calls for and which I do in no degree desire to be excused from. The freedom therefore of your advice therein I shall esteem equal with any of the other favours I must depend upon from you in the transacting of this affair.

194 [MS p 691] S P TO THE EARL MARSHAL OF ENGLAND

[21 August, 1673]

The honour I have received from your Lordship in your letter of the 15th current,¹ out doing all that any professions or even effects of my duty towards your Lordship can ever be thought to make return for, I shall not offer at the mixing anything of my own with what I have at present in commission to say to your Lordship from his Royal Highness, who upon perusal of your said letter hath commanded me to tell you that, besides the satisfaction he is pleased to own in what relates to me, he is most particularly sensible of your Lordship's kindness and respect therein to himself, and will not omit to acknowledge it to your Lordship whenever he shall have opportunity of doing it.

¹ The letter referred to in the note 3 on p 273 above

195 [MS p 699] S P TO "COSEN PICKERING" ¹

*Derby House,*² 18 December, 1674

I received your letter of the 15th instant, and as I shall not omit to give my thanks to Sir Roger Strickland ³ for what kindnesses you have and shall on my score receive from him, so pray see that you on your part behave yourself so as that he may take content in the favour he shews you, and in what relates to myself you will remember that the best acknowledgment you can make me of my little kindnesses is (by your deservings) to enable and encourage me to do you greater So wishing you a good voyage, I remain

196 [MS p 699] S P TO SIR WILLIAM PETTY ⁴

29 December, 1674

The day being now set, I would be as good as my word in telling you that upon the 7th of January, at the Session House in the Old Bailey, a cause relating to the flag will be publicly and with no less solemnity handled, where I expect will appear all that law or learning can furnish the Judge of the Admiralty with on that subject Which, whether it be more or less, I would very gladly have you present at, as what (I am apt to believe) will produce the most that that matter will bear, till you come to put your hand to't So with wishes of a happy New Year to you, I remain, Your most faithful, humble servant

¹ Gilbert Pickering appears in Pepys's "Register of Sea-Commission Officers" (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS*, i 393). The Pickering's who are frequently referred to in the *Diary* were only distantly connected with the Pepys family through Sir Gilbert Pickering the Parliamentarian who married Elizabeth the Earl of Sandwich's sister whose mother was a Pepys. The *Diary* contains a reference to a grandson of Sir Gilbert Pickering named Gilbert 'who is turned a very rogue' (26 April, 1667), but the letter printed in the text appears to be addressed to someone a good deal younger. Gilbert Pickering the sailor did not obtain his first commission until 1678.

² As Secretary of the Admiralty Pepys was now residing at the Office of the Admiralty at Derby House.

³ In 1674 Sir Roger Strickland was commanding the *Dragon* a 4th-rate

⁴ See *DNB* xlv 113

197 [MS p 699] S P TO CAPTAIN DEANE

5 January, 1674[-5]

I have received your letter without date, for which I return you my thanks, and in an especial manner for that part of it which relates to my cousin Thomas Alcocke,¹ wherein I do greatly concur with you in your advice, as well believing that some years practice at sea is no less than necessary to confirm a shipwright in the principles of the theory he learned on shore, as also to qualify him thoroughly for a land employment afterwards in the King's yards, without which, were his relation ten times nearer to me than it is, I hope I should never be guilty of looking out for anything for him, though when he shall be fit for it I shall be glad of having an opportunity of doing him right. Therefore if you judge him to deserve such a certificate, and that he is in truth at present fit for the trust of the ship you are building at Harwich,² I shall desire you to bestow it on him to as good effect as without partiality you think him to deserve

198 [MS p 703] S P TO MR BALTHAZAR ST MICHEL

Derby House, 24 February, 1674-5

This comes only to tell you that I have received your letter of the 20th instant, and that I shall not omit to speak to Mr Evelyn as you desire, who I doubt not will be as friendly to you as he may and shall be enabled by moneys

199 [MS p 703] MR RICHARD GIBSON TO ———³*n d*⁴

Mr Secretary Pepys being about altering the style of commanders' instructions from that of his Royal Highness to the

¹ The Alcockes were descended from Elizabeth Pepys, Samuel's great-aunt his cousin, Harry Alcocke, is mentioned in the *Diary*, and Thomas may have been his son. See W. H. Whittear *More Pepysiana*, pedigree

² Probably the *Sapphir* a 5th-rate, launched in 1675

³ Perhaps Sir William Coventry

⁴ This undated letter is entered between one of 24 February and another of 11 March 1674-5

Lords of the Admiralty, amongst other things was pleased to enter into discourse of the reason why the common force of our ships' sailing now fell short of what it was under the Long Parliament, when we out-sailed the Dunkirkers, the art of building being since more improved I gave him my thoughts, —among other things, that the industry of the present commanders fell short of those times in searching out the trim of their ships, and that at any time they now sailed better than ordinary it came by accident, and that besides the common received opinion of the difference of draught of water (which might sometimes be a little heeded) there was nothing studied, so that those of his Majesty's ships which once sailed well, after the exchange of many commanders has nothing left certain from any one of their experiences to help to continue that quality, or so much as to give any reason why or how it came to be lost Upon which discourse the enclosed came to be penned, which by his command I herewith transmit to you for your approval or correction, in case you think any advantage may arise by having a particular clause in commanders' instructions to enjoin them to write down their observations upon this subject, that it may be transmitted to succeeding commanders either by Mr Secretary or the Navy Board

200 [MS p 704] S P TO LADY TIDDEMAN, widow of
Sir T Tiddeman

Derby House, 11 March 1674-5

I have your letter of the 8th instant, and do retain (I assure you) a very worthy memory of Sir Thomas Tiddeman,¹ and shall not be either less inclined or less industrious to express it to you than I have to any others who enjoy the benefit of the King's bounty But I must confess I observe so much difference made between the memory of services done long

¹ On the career of Sir Thomas Tiddeman or Tiddeman see *DNB*, lvi 2 Sir John Harman a more distinguished naval officer died on 11 October, 1673, and the King 'declared his pleasure for the settling a pension or annuity of £500 a year upon my Lady Harman for her life, payable out of the Navy' (*Admiralty Journal*, p 4)

ago and those that are more fresh, besides the personal esteem which his Majesty and his Royal Highness had in a more particular manner of Sir John Harman in preference to most that either went before or followed him, that I dare not advise you so far to rely upon the precedent of what his Majesty has been pleased to do since his death for my Lady Harman as that you should adventure upon a chargeable journey upon no better assurances than that, especially too, while I reflect upon it, that however the world may perchance have been led into the mistake, the King, I doubt, is prepossessed with another opinion of the condition Sir Thomas Tiddeman left his estate in than that of Sir John Harman's. Which opinion I am afraid may keep the King from being so easily inclined to the apprehending your necessities to be such as your letter to me (and which I in my own particular doubt not at all of the truth of) seems to represent. Which out of the sincerity of my friendship I think more becoming me to tell you, than by my silence to concur in the putting of you upon a journey that may not prove so satisfactory to you in the success of it as you might otherwise hope and I could wish. Not but that if you shall, upon any other considerations or encouragement, be persuaded either to come up hither or use any other means of applying yourself to the King on this subject, you shall find that as far as my assistance may be of use to you, you shall have it.

201 [MS p 705] S P TO MR BRISBANE,¹ at Paris

Derby House, 12 March, 1674-5

I have received your obliging letter of the 2nd instant, and out of my hopes of having opportunity within a little time of doing it more largely at my seeing you here, this serves only to congratulate you the so successful dispatch² of what was committed to your care by his Majesty to be performed at

¹ Mr John Brisbane, judge-advocate of the fleet had accompanied Sir John Narbrough on his expedition to the Straits against the pirates of Tripoli. A minute in the *Admiralty Journal* for 14 February 1674-5 (p 150) shews that Mr Brisbane was then "upon his way thence home-wards overland."

² To 'congratulate upon' is a later usage

Algier; wishing for his sake that the orders sent by way of several ports could have reached Sir John Narbrough and you before your parting, by which his Majesty would have had your assistance in what is to be done at Tripoly, where some difficulties have arisen beyond what appeared at your going hence, but I hope nevertheless all will do well

For the courteous offer of your kindness to me in what is to be had at Paris I shall so far accept of it as to give you the trouble of buying me one of Gamboust's maps of Paris, which is the best I have seen either of that or any other city I would be glad also to recruit myself with what the Fire robbed me of, namely of all the heads of persons of quality cut by Nanteuil,¹ and this not only within the circle of the Court and camp but more especially with heads of admirals or other sea-captains, if any have passed his hand, and if not his, any other's; I having already furnished myself with a very good collection of that kind of the Dutch tarpaulins and as I remember I had in particular the head of Monsieur Beaufort.²

Do me the favour also, if by any acquaintance you can procure it me (and I fancy you might be assisted in this by my friend Monsieur Mignon, that was secretary to Monsieur Colbert in his Embassy here to whom in that case thou may please to use my name and services) that I may have any thing, either in print or manuscript, of any sea-orders or instructions relating to the Admiralty the duty of officers at sea or on shore, or anything else relating to the oeconomy of the Admiralty or Navy of France, such as the numbers, rates, and names of their ships, methods of their victualling, rates of wages or any other thing of that sort, which I commend to your friendship to think of, but so as not to charge yourself with too much trouble about, especially when you design so little stay there

One thing more I remember that at my last being at Paris I was told that the History of that City then almost worn

¹ Perovs had already begun to collect the prints of Robert D'Nanteuil the famous French engraver and had acquired the heads of Colbert and others most excellent to my great content of Louis XIV
-5 January 1708-9)

² The Duc de Beaufort had commanded the French fleet in 1700.

out of print (an History answerable to our Stow's of London) was said to be under reprinting, with all the additions of the new faubourgs since the date of the first If it should be so, I pray you to provide me one of them in quires

You see what a work you have made for yourself, but it is what I desire to be no further answered in than what stands with your entire leisure and convenience So wishing you perfect health, and a safe end to your journey, I remain .

[*Postscript*] We seem at present to be under a general vacation here, the King and Duke, having now been 3 days at Newmarket, will purpose of continuing there 14 more

202 [MS p 713] S P TO MR BALTHAZAR ST MICHEL, at Deal

13 August, 1675

I have received your letter of the 9th instant, though by my being out of town not so soon as you might have expected, however, soon enough in reference to the matter of it, there being nothing wherein my Lords of the Admiralty receive less satisfaction than in that of being applied to for protection for seamen and others, under pretence of their employment in the Navy, from being arrested, and consequently from being obliged to do right to their creditors¹ A privilege which indeed his Majesty's service does give, but such a one as ought to be used with great gentleness, and principally (if not only) in time of war or other great action, and not in peace, when plenty of men may be had to answer all his Majesty's occasions without robbing of the gaols Upon which account it is that my Lords have at no time entered into any consideration of the particular rights of man and man, but upon application made by any person for leave to arrest any officer or seaman in his Majesty's service, their course is, to give that officer or seaman 12 days to satisfy their creditors or shew their Lordships good reason why they should not deliver him up to the law Upon failure whereof, my Lords have never yet denied liberty to any plaintiff, after leave thus asked, to take his

¹ On the practice of the Admiralty with regard to protection from arrest see *Admiralty Journal*, pp lxxiv-lxxvi

know my hopes of having seen him again at my house before his leaving London

Lastly, I recommend to your special remembrance what I last suggested to you when we were alone, leaving the method of doing it wholly to you, in reference especially to its speed and privacy, it being what I verily believe may by your management prove a most effectual way of securing what we desire and without any very great charge, or at least very great loss, as by your enquiries and judgment the choice of the parcels may be made Which I shall entirely leave to your governing, praying that you will do me the favour to let it be in your thoughts, as soon as you have opportunity to do something in it, without communicating it to anybody else for the reasons we discoursed of when we thought of this matter, among which one was the giving a hint to anybody else of doing that which we are proposing to do

What I have to add is, the presenting my cosen and yourself, as also my cosen Grace, with my most humble services, leaving my compliments to the ladies to be enlarged by me in my next, and assuring you that I am most sensible of your kindness to me and my good fortune under it, remaining,
Your truly affectionate kinsman and humble servant

205 [MS p 723] S P to Mr ROBERT BULLER, Mayor of
Castle Rising

11 December, 1675

I was not a little troubled when I understood from my Cosen Pepys of Lynn, at his late being here, that no advance had been then made in the work towards which I have long had a purpose of being a small contributor, and did in Easter Term last give him commission on my behalf to acquaint yourself and the rest of my worthy friends of your Corporation with the same, in the presenting you and them with the sum of 50*l* towards the repair of your Church And the more for that at Mr Boulton's being in town about five or six weeks since, I had the opportunity of making known to him my readiness to pay that sum to whomever your Corporation

should think fit to intrust with the receipt of it, promising him also to become a solicitor on the same behalf to Sir John Trevor, which I did in few days after, and received a courteous answer from him concerning it

Since which having heard nothing from Mr Boulton, and being unwilling that the work should lie longer unbegun, my Cosen Pepys has at my request taken the trouble of receiving from me that sum, and to undertake the answering the same to your Corporation for the religious use aforesaid, as soon and in such manner as you and they shall please to call for it from him Which I pray you to accept in good part from me, as a small instance of the good will I bear to the place from whence I have received so much honour and favour, assuring you that however it came to pass that through Mr Offley's unreasonable competition the accomplishment of your kindness on my behalf was rendered of so unexpected a trouble to you and charge to myself, yet such was the proof I received of the general respect and favour of the Corporation, that I shall never forget the obligations I have to you and them for it by all the service I shall be able to do either to the Corporation in general or any particular member of it

Which with the tender of my very humble service to yourself and all my worthy friends about you, I remain, Their and your most obliged and faithful servant

206 [MS p 726] S P TO MR HOMEWOOD,¹ Clerk of the Survey at Chatham

24 December, 1675

I own myself much to blame that I have no sooner answered the kindness of your letter of the 20th of November, which pray place to the multitude of my businesses here, and take my kind thanks for it now, letting you also know that I shall very much esteem the relics you mention therein of Apollo's Temple, having a know[n] addiction to things of that kind, and shall therefore pray you to find passage for them up to

¹ Mr Homewood is twice referred to in the *Diary* (6 January, 1661-2 and 31 May, 1666)

you may reckon yourself endangered or secured in the office you have taken upon yourself for answering for me in all adventures

Who the Stanley is you mention I know not, as not presently recollecting any one of the name but one a merchant of Southampton whom for many years past I have not seen But informing myself (upon receipt of your letter this evening) from my clerks, I find that one of them (Walbank¹) was applied to this morning by two gentlemen, one of whom he knew to be Mr Edward Colston² the merchant, the other a person of gentleman-like appearance also, and by his discourse a merchant, but who or how called he does not know, the former being the person that principally interested himself in the business they came about, which was the demanding a new pass for the ship *Victory* of London, in pursuance of the late proclamation.³ Towards which the steps Walbank took for the fitting himself to give an answer were these—

1 To prevent being imposed upon in their pretence of a former pass, he in their presence turned to his book of entries, and found a pass granted to a ship of that name the 14th of November, 1674

2. Next, he took the name of the master, with the dimensions and description of the ship as they now represented her, and compared them with those of the old pass, in order to the detecting any disagreement between them, but found none

3 As to her propriety, he turned to the oath made by her master, an Englishman, at the granting of the old pass, the original whereof I here enclose you, by which you will find it sworn that the propriety of the ship appertained only to his Majesty's subjects, and that no alien had any share in her

4 For her freedom, upon his demanding evidence in that particular, they brought along with them and produced to

¹ Walbank's name is mentioned in connexion with Houlston's in Pepys's *Naval Diary* p. 113.

² On Edward Colston the merchant the benefactor of Bristol see D. N. B. vii. 406

³ See *Admiralty Journal* pp. 262, 271, 272 and 415 *nav. Letter*. No. 2731 The arrangements for passes granted to ships under the treaties with the Mediterranean powers are all described in *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* vol. iii. pp. xxiii-xxx

him the original certificate thereof from the Custom House, signed by Sir John Shaw,¹ which he again, in their presence and two others of my clerks, compared with the old pass as to the particulars of the ship's dimensions and description

5 For securing the delivering up the old pass (in case a new one should be granted), he demanded Mr Colston's bond, which Mr Colston seemed willing to enter into, but with intimation of a desire that he might have more time allowed him for the doing of it than the six months given by the proclamation Walbank denied to accept of his bond on any other terms than what the proclamation appoints Upon which Mr Colston yielding, a bond was accordingly prepared and entered into by Mr Colston, the original whereof I also enclose you

6 That it might appear that no change had been made in the propriety of the ship since the date of the old pass and affidavit, he demanded of Mr Colston his making oath that the propriety remains still the same When to Mr Colston answering that he was willing to do it, my clerk replied that the Lords of the Admiralty having resolved to meet this morning, he would prepare an affidavit for him to make before their Lordships, so as if he would call again about half an hour hence he might have opportunity of being sworn and have his pass dispatched Accordingly Mr Colston and his companion departing, returned about $\frac{1}{2}$ hour after, but the Lords failing to meet, my clerk could not proceed to the taking of the oath, it being to be done in the presence of the Lords, whose particular directions also (this being the first case) were needful to be had in it, the proclamation being wholly silent therein Upon which consideration the gentlemen went away, without any oath indeed administered, but so as it shall be before they have my pass

And now I leave you to judge how much cause these gentlemen have to reproach my Office (this being entirely in my absence) with the easiness of the terms upon which they have obtained their pass

One piece of easiness indeed they met with which is, that

¹ Collector of Customs for the Port of London

when they demanded what the charge of their new pass would come to, my clerk answered them, "Nothing, but 10s for the clerks" ¹, which for a Flemish ship (as Mr Stanley calls her) that hath already enjoyed a pass above one year and is upon having a second to last another, is a pennyworth to be had in few offices in England but mine, I fear, and with very good will they shall have it so, provided that while I am contented to forego my profit they will not make me a further sufferer by turning that to my prejudice which I labour most to merit by,—I mean, the easiness, civility, and dispatch which I pretend ² to give to all that have occasion of applications to my Office. But if the reward I am to have for it must be to have those simple methods of mine interpreted for perfunctoriness and want of scrutiny, 'tis twenty to one but my invention might serve me to make my Office as troublesome and chargeable as others, and justify its being so.

You will forgive me for appearing a little touched with this usage from them, assuring you that (however) neither this nor anything else shall provoke me to do worse, but may excite me to do as much better as I can. I was willing only to give you an account of the business at this length that you may have it in your power (as well as in your will) to do me right upon any second mention that shall be made of it, appealing to the gentlemen themselves for the truth of fact in every particular I have here given you, and one more, which is, that when Mr Colston would have argued for his master's not being tied to have his whole company (being 40) consist of subjects of his Majesty, the Act of Navigation not requiring it, my clerk insisted upon it, and declared that the old pass running in these terms, he could not draw the new one other wise, nor were they to expect it.

I thank you kindly for your advertisement touching the merchants meeting with Mr Secretary Williamson ³; presuming that I shall meet you on the same errand to-morrow morning at the Council Table, and from thence accompany you home.

¹ As Secretary of the Admiralty, Pepys was entitled to claim a fee of 25s for himself for each pass (*Admiralty Journal* p. 221).

² I *do* claim

³ Sir Joseph Williamson Secretary of State

wards though not home, being under an obligation to dine with my fellow-Officers of the Navy at Sir John Tippetts's. So recommending you back for a conclusion to the first two lines, and praying your excuse for not using my own hand, my eyes being a little out of order at present, I remain, Your most obliged and affectionate servant

210 [MS p 734] S P TO MR HOMEWOOD, Clerk of the Survey at Chatham Yard

Derby House, 24 February, 1675-6

Though it be with some delay, yet I would not omit my returning you thanks for your late kindness touching the relics of Apollo's statue at Delphos, and the dimensions you give me of it. Pity it is that time has so worn out the features of the face. However, there remains enough to shew its great antiquity and greatness of its measures, and though I have not taken that piece of this great figure which I met with at Mr Gibson's, yet I have found with it the headless body of a small figure, which I have brought home, as being very ancient, I believe, and (I am sure) very finely wrought. For which returning you again my very kind thanks for your kindness herein, I remain

211 [MS p 740] S P TO MR GEORGE BOREMAN ¹

Tuesday morning, 4 July, 1676

A proposition having been made to me by the bearer, Mr Bailey, wherein no less public good than private convenience seems to be offered by an engine of his invention designed for the taking up of ballast with more dispatch, less charge, and better force (in reference to the variety of soils it is to cut through) than any other hitherto made public, I have so far entertained the same as to determine upon having a trial made of the efficacy of the said invention, which the proposer seems ready to make (at his own charge), in case I shall find

¹ MS "Boerman"

myself encouraged thereto by yourself, whose employment, principally if not only, it is that must render the same of the benefit expected, either to the public or the undertaker. In which, as I would upon no consideration offer at the imposing anything upon you, so I persuade myself you will not withstand any reasonable proposition of this kind from whence yourself may be advantaged in your particular concerns, as the bearer seems fully persuaded this will in many circumstances be, and attends you herewith in order to the satisfying you that it will be so, wherein the present favour I have now to ask of you is, that you will give him opportunity, as soon as your occasions will permit it, of discoursing with you upon this subject. Which if it may be done this morning, and that there be anything wherein my presence will be useful, I shall about noon be found at the Trinity House, and from thence, if there be occasion, come to you where you desire.

212 [MS p 746] S P TO SIR LEOLINE JENKINS,¹ Ambassador Extraordinary from his Majesty of Great Britain at Nimegue

24 July, 1676

Having by another of this date given myself the honour of answering your Excellency's of the 24th of June, this serves only for the conveying to your Excellency an humble request on behalf of an ingenious and every way hopeful young gentleman, one Mr Skinner, son of a merchant of good quality and name in this City and my worthy friend,² who has the ambition and some encouragement (as I understand) to hope for a dependence on your Lordship in the service of Mr Chunley your secretary.³ Wherein what I have humbly to interpose is the telling your Excellency that being privy to every part of this gentleman's education, from his father's house through

¹ Sir Leoline Jenkins, the Judge of the Court of Admiralty, had left England to attend the Congress of Nimeguen on 20 December 1675.

² Daniel Skinner, merchant of the parish of St Olave, Hart Street and therefore a near neighbour of Pepys when he was living in the Navy Office.

³ This must be Thomas Chudleigh, the diplomatist. He was Secretary to the Embassy at Nimeguen, and afterwards Envoy at the Hague.

Westminster School to Trinity College in Cambridge, and the reputation he has, as well as what I personally know of his sobriety, parts, and learning, and particularly in his Latin style, I have not in all my conversation known any person set out better prepared for an admission to public business than I think him to be, and as such (as far as your Excellency shall have it before you) I pray he may be honoured with your Excellency's favour to his pretences under this character, as given by one who would no more bestow it undeserved than he could deny it where it is so due as I think it to be in the case of this gentleman, on whose behalf I should with infinite satisfaction and thankfulness own any favour he shall be thought worthy of under your Lordship's patronage

213 [MS p 755] S P TO MR SKINNER,¹ at Rotterdam

17 November, 1676

I have received your letter of the $\frac{9}{19}$ instant,² and shall leave to another time what might be reasonable for me to say (notwithstanding the modesty of your excuse for it) touching your leaving England without bidding me adieu, upon an occasion wherein I had with so much design of friendship interested myself on your behalf to my Lord Ambassador, to whom I should never have thought it decent either for me or you to have let you gone without some fresh letters from me in acknowledgment of my obligation to him for his answer to my first (which I communicated to you) in your favour. This only I shall take the liberty at present to say, that had you thought fit to have seen me and imparted to me then what necessity has driven you to do now, I am apt to believe you would never have needed the asking that office of friendship from me now which I have nevertheless heartily applied myself

¹ See a long letter dated 19 November [i.e. 9 November O.S.] from Daniel Skinner the younger to Pepys printed in Smith i 169 *cf* also *ib.*, i 181. The former appears to be the letter referred to by Pepys

² MS ' $\frac{9}{16}$ instant'

or your innocence therein so cleared as that you may recover Sir J W's fair opinion concerning it¹, wishing only that since you are abroad you could find yourself in a condition of passing so much time there and in France as might suffice for the making you master of the French and Dutch languages, which are with much more facility to be obtained abroad, and without which no man under any public character can, as the world goes, support himself in any public charge, either here or in any foreign Court, and this I in a special manner do recommend to you, the rather from the consideration of the much greater difficulty and dissatisfaction it will be of for you to have them to learn when you should have them to use Which, from several intimations which Sir J W was pleased to give me, I do in no wise doubt but you may have reasonable hopes of meeting with, so soon as some little time shall have cleared you of this unhappy jealousy, and your improvement of the said time shall qualify you by these languages for those employments for which your other learning and endowments have already so far prepared you In which my endeavours of serving you then will I hope make some amends for that want of success which I have met with in my desires of doing it now Which (among others) is one of the causes why I forbear at present to send any second letter to my Lord Ambassador touching this affair

[*Postscript*] Excuse me that being at this time a little out of order, I make use of another's hand

214 [MS p 763] S P TO MR PETT,² Master-Shipwright at Chatham Yard

Derby House, 2 May, 1677

I take this occasion of giving you and your Lady thanks for your great civilities to me (at Chatham), and more particularly for that of the present you are providing for me and which

¹ Daniel Skinner explains that he little thought "that Sir Joseph was such an enemy to the name of Milton" (Smith i 175)

² Phineas Pett (d 1678) the nephew of Commissioner Peter Pett, see W G Perrin, *Phineas Pett* p 11

I shall labour to put a due value upon , and as one instance of it, do adventure to trouble you a second time about that which I took the liberty of observing to you when I was with you, namely, the thickness and breadth of the stile and rail where the glass is to be set, which I do by all means desire may be made as small as may be , those which I have for my book-presses here not being above $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch in thickness either way, struck on the outside with a small astrical ¹ or half-round

True it is, the glass by that means will become the larger, but I shall pray you to leave the providing of that to me, and suffer the sashes to be brought up hither empty, putting you also in mind of having one side made up without glass, to be laid pure white within-side, with a moulding only round it to be gilt as the rest is , without which, or some such ornaments, I fear it may appear somewhat too plain

Let me also entreat you that the pedestal, or whatever it is upon which the model is to stand, may be moveable, that upon occasion it may be taken out of its cabinet and set upon a table for the better looking round it

Lastly, I am to pray your remembering to let the table which I have desired of you of the particular parts of the said model and its furniture, containing the names, nature, distinctions, sizes, and dimensions thereof, to be as particular as you can , I purposing to make more use of it than barely for the entertaining of my eyes, and consequently to be in debted to you for somewhat more than a piece of furniture, though that in itself were very valuable

215 [MS p 768] S P TO MR PETT,² at Woolwich

Derby House, 22 June, 1677

I have by your late invitation sent you down my boat, in order to her being a little cleaned, and to the giving you the offer of a little further trouble about her, which is the desiring you to consider whether there may be any great inconvenience,

¹ An *astragal* or *astrigal* is a small semicircular moulding

² This is another Phineas Pett who was master-shipwright at Woolwich He was knighted in 1680

or that the charge will be very great, in having a house built upon her, as a barge, to be either fixed or moveable, for I am told that such things have been done to barges, and to tell you the truth, though I have done all I can in fitting my oiled cloth to my iron bails, yet I find it troublesome in the opening and shutting, as the weather being cold, hot, or wet requires, and yet carries as much wind-taut as a house. Not but that it may be very possible there may be nevertheless objections against building of a house upon her, and particularly that she being in her build ¹ broad and short, I fear a house may make her appear yet much shorter, and so may render her shape less agreeable to the eye, wherefore I do leave it entirely to you to judge whether it may be convenient to have the thing done or not, or whether possibly I may not, without any loss to his Majesty, obtain from the Officers of the Navy another boat to be built for me more barge shapen ² in exchange for this. Against which proposition also I have nevertheless this to object, that the summer will be most of it gone before I shall get it done to have any use of it. And I know not also whether that would be so good a boat to answer my occasions of being carried below bridge, though it may be better for above, but I leave the whole entirely to you to consider and to give me your opinion in a word or two before you go about doing anything to her, because if you are of advice to have a house built upon her, I would be glad to offer you some thoughts of mine as to the manner of it, and particularly in reference to the windows, which I would propose unto you to slide up and down in grooves, as your glasses in coaches do, as being safer, closer, and more handy than the hanging them upon hinges.

[*Postscript*] If the largeness of the house to answer her present bails be any considerable objection to it because of the shortness, I should be well contented to have it made somewhat less, by its being shortened either abaft or before, so as there may remain good room for six persons

¹ MS "built"

² The author of the venomous pamphlet of 1679, *A Hue and Cry after P and H*, made great game of Pepys's barge see J R Tanner, *Mr Pepys*
p 241

ledge that his Majesty had been prevailed with to grant one Captain Griffith the reversion of the Register's place of the Admiralty after the death of Mr Gee, and well knowing, or rather, being conscious, that neither myself nor they through whose hands I understand the said grant was passing were competently informed either in the importance of this office or the qualifications requisite for its officer, I interested myself in it so far as to prevent his Majesty's signing the warrant for this reversion at the very time it was tendered him to that purpose, and in short did afterwards find it a favour solicited for by Sir Philip Lloyd ¹ in behalf of this gentleman his friend, with the advantage (by his having served his Majesty at sea) ² of being known to and favoured by his Royal Highness, but wholly unfurnished (as far as I can understand) with that learning (whatever else he may have) which the employment he pretends to seems necessarily to call for

Upon which last consideration I, who look upon myself as standing under a particular degree of accountableness for the choice of all officers coming within my notice, and who also know how much his Majesty's service no less than his justice is interested in the filling his offices with persons bred up in and therefore best deserving them, took the liberty of observing this to his Royal Highness, with the success of obtaining his consent that your Excellency's opinion and advice should be asked before any further step should be taken in this matter, of which (my Lord) not so much from the personal respect by me borne to my friend and your Excellency's servant Mr Bedford ³ (which nevertheless is very great), nor from any contrary inclination of mine to this gentleman, Captain Griffith (to whom, as having served his Majesty at sea, I should be glad on any proper occasion to be serviceable), but out of a sincere

¹ Philip Lloyd one of the Clerks of the Council, knighted 1674

² Captain Richard Griffith had commanded the *Holmes* the *Hampshire*, the *Castle* frigate, and the *Diamond* On 12 November, 1677 he was appointed to the command of the *Jersey*

³ Thomas Bedford was already Deputy Register of the Admiralty (*Admiralty Journal* pp 376 659) Mr afterwards Sir Orlando, Gee had been appointed Register in 1660 and was still holding the office when he was knighted on 18 August 1682 (W A Shaw, *The Knights of England*, II 258) This letter only refers to the reversion of the post on Gee's death, which did not occur until 1705

regard to the weight of the office now in question, the dignity of the Court whereto it relates, and the preference due to such as by long study and practice have qualified themselves for it, I did (in right both to Mr Gee and himself) give Mr Bedford notice, as also of my purpose (with the leave and direction of his Royal Highness) to write to your Excellency about it, though I have hitherto respite^d the doing it out of a belief that the answer which his Royal Highness had (after my waiting on him) given Captain Griffith would have put a final stop to the said Captain's pretences, and conceiving it in that case as well unfit as unnecessary to give your Excellency any trouble about it, but finding Sir Philip Lloyd, after near 2 months' silence, to call upon me afresh about 2 days since concerning it, when I thought it seasonable for me thus to possess your Lordship of the matter, and to invite you (as I now do) from his Royal Highness to the making what interposition your Excellency shall think fit with respect to all or any part of what I have here opened unto you

As to what your Lordship is pleased so generously to revive the mention of to me touching Mr Skinner, neither have I heard more than once from him since his great misadventure¹, and, to say truth, I am apt to believe the young gentleman is no less out of countenance with himself towards me than I am with myself towards your Lordship, for the trouble I offered at the giving you on his behalf. For which, as well as on many other scores, I am gotten into a lasting debt to your Excellency

219 [MS p 774] S P TO MR SHERE,² at Tangier

Derby House, 26 July, 1677

This comes only to accompany to you a copy of a warrant which by the same conveyance is going to Captain Beverly³ from the Officers of the Navy for the authorizing him to deliver

¹ See Letter No 213 (p 293 above)

² Mr, afterwards Sir Henry, Shere was the military engineer in charge of the mole at Tangier

³ Master-attendant at Tangier (MS p 776)

12th instant, the value of which I have no knowledge yet of, but suppose it cannot be great, the highest quality of the said person being that of his having served as Bailiff of the said Town. Nevertheless, be it what it will, I shall with all duty and thankfulness own his Majesty's and your Royal Highness's bounty to me in case you shall think me worthy of his Majesty's grace to me herein

222 [MS p 779] S P TO SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL ¹

Olentey,² 19 August, 1677

When I have told you that I came hither yesterday after daylight was out and shall depart to morrow before it be in, you won't wonder either at my not seeing you or my taking this way of hearing from you, it being hard for me in so little time to compass the former and no less uneasy to omit the latter. For being thus far together in a foreign land, I am doubly desirous to know how you do, and in exchange for it send you the freshest tidings I have of our Royal mariners, which pray return me, and notice when I may expect you at the anvil again, for I envy your so many holidays

Sir John Bankes ³ (to whose family only I dedicated this visit) sends you his service, and joins with me in my wishes that we might once in our lives have met noiseless and thoughtless

My time not admitting me doing more, I shall not offer at troubling you with so little as the mention of me or my duty to your honourable company at Surrenden ⁴ Adieu

he took much trouble to save the estate for the widow and children Wheatley in a note quotes the case of Francis Gurney referred to in the text, but mistakes the motive of Pepys's intervention

¹ On Sir Robert Southwell the diplomatist see *DNB*, liii 299

² See note on p 304 below

³ See note on p 305 below

⁴ Sir Robert Southwell had married in 1664 Elizabeth the eldest daughter of Sir Edward Dering of Surrenden Dering Kent. Olantigh and Surrenden are within a few miles of each other

223 [MS p 783] S P TO MR JOHN PEPYS

Derby House, 1 September, 1677

' I hope ere this come to your hand you will have received mine of the 28th of the last, with one enclosed from Mr Hollyer,¹ to which I much long for an answer, and hope to receive it by Monday's post, that I may understand the present condition of your health, with the effects of his advice and what you shall please to direct me to supply you further with from hence, and particularly about some wine

I did also in the same letter give you an expectation of my full answer to you in the business of my sister², but because I would leave no stone unturned that may conduce to your satisfaction and hers in that matter, I have determined upon taking some advice here more than my own therein, that I may as much as it is possible secure myself against any imputation of doing anything misbecoming an honest man towards my cosens, and prevent my sister and her children's meeting with any occasions of future disputes by my seeing all grounds of dispute removed while I am in being, that may best see it done The result of which counsel I shall know in very few days, and shall be then ripe to give my own opinion upon it, not doubting but, if my sister should be prevented in this, I shall be able by God Almighty's blessing to make her children as good a provision in another way So craving your blessing, and with my kind love to my brother, sister, and children, I remain, Your ever obedient and dutiful son

224 [MS p 785] S P TO LADY BANKS³*13 September, 1677*

Sir John Bankes has of late taken up such a trick of diving, without leaving us any aim at the place where he means to

¹ Thomas Holher or Holyard, the surgeon who attended Pepys and his wife during the period of the *Diary*

² Paulna Pepys, who had married John Jackson

³ Sir John Banks was a wealthy East India merchant residing in Lincoln's Inn Fields He was a friend of long standing who had helped to vindicate Pepys in the House of Commons when in 1673 he was accused of being Popishly inclined and having an altar and crucifix in his house see Wheatley's note in the *Diary*, vol 1 p xxxii

rise next (for I have had him appear on a sudden at Derby House when I have been writing to him at Olentigh, and met with letters of his from Ailesford ¹ when I have thought myself sure of catching him in Lincoln's Inn Fields), that having something now to say to him, I shall take the liberty of saying it to your Ladyship, and leave him to miss or meet with it as he shall come in your Ladyship's way of having it communicated to him

And what I would first say to him is, that in answer to his of the 10th and 11th instant, I do keep the Duke in fresh remembrance of our affair at Winchelsea,² and (as a proof of it) was, upon my mentioning it to him yesterday morning, informed by him that Mr Browne the gun-founder had been with him on that errand, to whom his Highness gave for answer that he was already engaged for Sir J B So that be it Sir Edward Deering or who else shall offer at the interesting the Duke otherwise, I am confident he will be fast to us And this I would soon make known to Colonel Strood ³ (though I don't think his inclination of much moment in the case), could I find where he is

Next, I would observe to him (but pray don't you put any value upon it) that the more I think on't the more I concur with your Ladyship's and his present thoughts of sending for Mr Banks over for a little time, for I am in no wise satisfied that matters either are or are now likely to come into that posture which I could wish they were in between him and Mr Lock⁴, and I know no so decent and inoffensive a way of parting them as this of calling Mr Banks into England But pray take it with you that I say this upon a firm dependence upon your letting him return within a little time again to finish those travels which, by our misfortune rather than fault, have met

¹ Olantigh Towers near Ashford and the Friary at Aylesford were both country houses belonging to Sir John Banks

² A vacancy in the representation of Winchelsea had been caused by the resignation of Colonel Finch and Sir John Banks was a candidate for election

³ Colonel John Strood was Governor of Dover Castle

⁴ John Locke the philosopher had taken charge of Sir John Banks soon at Paris in May 1677 at the request of Shaftesbury and stayed with him there for a year (*D & B* xxiv 30) See also the letters printed below (Nos. 235-9 - 41 - 43-4)

with so many disappointments and unsuccessfulnesses in their beginning

I should in the next place tell him how much I would give to be secured that your Ladyship is as well satisfied as by his concurrence he seems to be in my last advice relating to Sir T M¹. For though my heart bears me witness that the liberty I have taken (when called) of interposing my slender advice in that matter has been governed with the same faithfulness (and I think affection too) that it should have been in the concernment of a child of my own, whom no consideration of estate should tempt me to the parting with upon such Smithfield terms as our Western chapmen have been so long haggling upon for my pretty countrywoman, yet I should never be able to bear the burthen of your Ladyship being in any degree unsatisfied in it, which, nevertheless, I cannot apprehend you will be when I consider how morally impossible it is for a lady under Mistress Bankes's character and circumstances to remain long without choice of opportunities of being disposed of much more to your personal content (and hers) than the abandoning her to a stranger of so mercenary a courtship as Sir T M, with his pretended 7000*l* a year, has shewn himself to be, to pass her time I know not where, out of sight and hearing in the backside of the kingdom, could ever prove to be either to your Ladyship or her

Lastly, he should know that I do enough concur with him in his letters to France, and shall see them dispatched away by this night's post, as I now enclose one to you just come to hand from Mr Bankes

What remains, Madam, belongs to yourself, and is to tell you that though by being long used to the courtesy of your family I am arrived at an almost impudent degree of readiness to lay hold on all the favours you are daily offering me, yet that your friends, and more especially those of the kind house you are now in (and where I am wholly destitute of any pretences) should also be burthened with me, goes down very uneasily with me, and would do more so were it not that they are pleased to conform to your Ladyship's choice in the

¹ Evidently a suitor for the hand of Sir John Banks's daughter

towards my Cosen Pepys, the other what may be prudent to be done in reference to my sister's children), I shall most implicitly resign myself up to your advice and my Father's command, and without further insisting upon difficulties which my other business will not suffer me to make myself full master of, much less to resolve, shall intreat your advice by what steps we are to proceed in the obtaining what my Father desires, wherein I shall most readily perform my part, as one that place[s] the first point of my own felicity in the contributing all I can to the satisfaction of my Father, especially when guided in it by advice so fit to be relied on as yours I shall therefore wait your direction for my further proceeding in this matter, and begging your excuse that by my attendance on his Majesty (who returned to town but this night) I have not been able to give you an earlier acknowledgment of the favour of your last, Remain

227 [MS p 799] S P TO SIR JOHN HOLMES ¹ By express

13 November, 1677, "1 a clock "

His Royal Highness took very kindly your desire of attending the Princess of Orange over, and accordingly with all satisfaction it is ordered, as you see by my public letter to you which this accompanies I am sorry you have not the further honour of carrying them in your own ship, but the accommodation of the yachts make[s] that not attainable You will however have the opportunity of waiting on them, which will be no less obliging to them and of more ease to you, wherein I shall wish you all the satisfaction, and write to you again before you go, as there shall be occasion, this only adding for the present, that you carrying your flag, and the Prince and Princess of Orange going each of them in several ² yachts, and their quality calling also for a flag to each, it has been matter of some difficulty how to adjust it so as may not be injurious to his Majesty's flag borne by you, nor make a

¹ Sir John Holmes was at this time commander-in chief in the Downs, carrying the Union flag at the main-top in the *Vounlagu*

² I.e. separate

you to the trust and business of a man, my kindness to you, as well as justice to myself, will not let me longer withhold my giving you the same cautions which I should with more severity give a child of my own (and did to my only brother to the last day he lived in the Navy¹), namely, that you do never entertain one thought of any indulgence from me under any neglects of business, and much less under any misdoings therein, for I am one that will never be guilty of contributing to the advancement of any man that will not be contented to rise by the same steps of diligence and faithfulness which have (by God's blessing) raised me to this capacity of doing good offices. And this I the rather choose to observe to you out of the hopes I have that what my example may want my friend your father will supply to you, of the fruits of whose cares and labours in the world you have so largely tasted in your liberal education, and I hope will endeavour to make him amends for, in the improving it to his satisfaction by the proofs you will bring home of your well acquitting yourself in this employment, and thereby gaining a title to a better, which (for your encouragement) I do not upon those terms despair of meeting you with on your return, and so God bless you

229 [MS p 805] S P TO CAPTAIN WILLSHAW,² commander of the *Foresight*, in the Downs

14 January, 1677[-8]

* * * * *

As for the matter you complain of touching my brother St Michel, I cannot blame one so sensible of his duty as you are to resent anything that tends, or can be interpreted, to your diminution in that particular, and very sorry I should be that one so nearly related to me as he is should do or say anything that should be construed (as you seem to do the word

¹ In 1673 Samuel's only surviving brother John, succeeded him, jointly with Thomas Hayter, in the office of Clerk of the Acts. He died in 1677.

² MS "Wiltshaw. There were two brothers of this name in the Navy Francis and Thomas. This is Francis Willshaw

"busking") to the prejudice of one for whom I have so particular a respect as I have and always shall for you. But as I never to this day met with a complaint of this kind concerning him in my whole life from man, woman, or child, and do believe him to be too well bred to fall into any undecencies towards a person of your character and trust, so I do assure you he has been so far from writing to me in the style you speak of, that I have not received one word from him of the matter, either good or bad, but am entirely surprised no less than afflicted at the account you give me of it, as being one that would no more own him for my brother were I sure he had deserved either the lie or cane from you, than I could ever excuse his forgetting himself so far to be a gentleman as to take either the one or the other from any man . . .

230 [MS. p 806] S. P. TO MR [BALHAZAR ST] MICHEL, at Deal.

17 January, 1677[-8]

I have yours of the 16th, and presuming still that you will neither conceal nor disguise the truth in a matter so much importing me as this wherein I am now concerned between Captain Willshaw and you, I cannot imagine what should lead so sober a man as he to so unanswerable a degree of passion and folly as he seems to have rendered himself guilty of towards you.

For what you suspect of his being possibly not so well affected towards me (though that's no new thing for me to meet with from some commanders), yet there can be nothing of that in this case, there being not one commander in the whole fleet to whom I either really have or have endeavoured to shew more real respect than Captain Willshaw. And therefore I have no other guess to make at the ground of it than that the company wherein you found him might after your departure, either in mirth or mischief, enlarge upon your word ("busking"¹) and impose upon him that groundless and offensive construction of your visit and letter which he in his seems to put upon it.

¹ Probably used in the nautical sense of piratical cruising

But be it what it will, though I cannot but approve of your warm resentments of such usage, yet would I advise and do conjure you to be cutting out no satisfaction for yourself, but silently passing it over (at least for the present), leave it to me to see you righted, and in the mean time content yourself with a view of the enclosed copy which I send you of my letter to him this night To which when I receive an answer, I shall be better instructed how to advise you further

231 [MS p 808] S P TO MR [BALTHAZAR ST] MICHEL,
at Deal

Derby House, 26 January, 1677[-8]

I have your letter of the 24th, and do take in very good part your acquiescing in what I have done between Captain Willshaw and you, it being what is enough I think for you to expect on your part, and what became me to say to him on his

And for the accident by which it is fallen out that my last letter to Captain Willshaw,¹ wherein the whole matter between you was wound up, came not to him, I would advise you to send it back to me, and I will take care to send it after him by the *Phoenix* under a fresh cover

So soon as you shall have mustered the *Phoenix*, I do approve of your coming up to town in order to your fitting yourself for your withdrawing from Deal, you taking care to have some person in the way to supply your absence for what occasions the King's service shall call for you there

232 [MS p 808] S P TO THE TRINITY HOUSE

31 January, 1677-8

I had well hoped ere this to have found leisure for overlooking my deceased brother's papers,² so as to have presented

¹ Presumably Letter No 229 (p 311 above)

² John Pepys had been Clerk to the Trinity House On his death in 1677 he left a debt of £300 due to the House, which his brother paid

you with an account in discharge of that money¹ for which (by the paper you lately sent me) he appears accountable to you. But from all the advance I have yet had the opportunity of making towards it, I find his papers so numerous, and mixed with others of the Navy, that I am very apprehensive (especially at this juncture) the labour necessary for my going through the whole and the enabling me thoroughly to understand either what's due from him to others, or from others, will call for more time than I am willing you should remain unsatisfied in what concerns you. And therefore I do hereby make it my request that you will, as soon as you please, take the trouble of estimating (to your own satisfaction) what his layings out upon Trinity Dinners, or any other occasions of disbursements within your view, to the time of this his account, may, with the arrears of his salary, arise unto. And whatever you shall thereupon judge he may upon the balance stand indebted in to your Corporation, I will forthwith deposit it in your hands, to remain there for the use of the poor, without interest, so long as my brother's said accounts shall lay unadjusted.

Wherein, as I doubt not your justice in returning me what (if anything) upon the settling of his said accounts shall appear to have been thus deposited by me above the balance due to the Corporation, so I shall be always ready to acquit myself with the respect due to my brother's memory and my duty to you in such manner as shall secure the Corporation from any prejudice in case the sums so deposited shall happen to fall in any wise short of the said balance.

233 [MS p 207] S P TO CAPTAIN WILLSHAW, commander
of the *Foresight*

17 February, 1677[-8]

For fear of miscarriage, I send you a copy of what I wrote you of the 14th instant,¹ at which time I also sent my brother St Michell the original of yours to me of the 13, and do now the like justice to you in giving you a view of the original of

¹ No 229 (p 311 above)

for succeeding my brother St Michell in his place of agent and muster-master at Deal as soon as he removes himself from it, the person being one that was bred first as a Child of the Chapel, and so one of the King's own family, till I took him into mine, in which he has been bred up a clerk of the Navy about 12 or 13 year, and so become of right, as well as by the fitness of his qualifications, to have a preference due to him before any other of less relation to and experience in the business of the Navy And according to that measure it is alone, and not any partiality to them as being my servants, that many of them (as you observe in your letter) have come to receive the reward of their long service and merits in preference to others who would have wanted no personal kindness from me (much less any such temptation of reward as you by a mighty mistake do offer me) for their advantage, had they stood equal with them in the other circumstances aforementioned I therefore intreat you not to think that he who never debased himself to the mixing his own profit with the conferring of a benefit upon a stranger, can forget himself so much as to offer worse treatment to one to whom I do with so much cause profess a real friendship, and will shew it on any occasion within his power where it may be done without disservice to the King and injustice to any else In both of which I must in a great degree have erred, should I have concerned myself for the disposal of this place upon any other within my knowledge but him that has it

235 [MS p 814] S P TO DR GALE ¹

Derby House, 14 March, 1677-8

HONOURED COUSEN,—I do not in any wise take upon myself the judging whether it be proper or no, but leaving it entirely to yourself to determine it, this comes only to tell you that if

¹ The learned Dr Thomas Gale High Master of St Paul's School and afterwards (1697) Dean of York had married Barbara daughter of Roger Pepys of Impington, Recorder of Cambridge Samuel's cousin (see the pedigree in W H Whitear *More Pepysiana*) On Pepys's interest in Christ's Hospital, see J R Tanner *Mr Pepys* p 228

you shall think it so, the President and Governors of Christ's Hospital, and myself in particular, would look upon it as a very kind office done us if you would take to yourself the trouble of managing the visitation we intend to hold of the Grammar School there on Monday next. The bearer, who is our Clerk, will inform you in any particulars you shall desire satisfaction in, and bring your answer, which pray give me without any constraint. Your most affectionate kinsman and faithful, humble servant ¹

236 [MS p 815] S P TO THE MASTER AND WARDENS OF TRINITY HOUSE

Derby House, 28 March, 1678

This being the very first morning of leisure I have had from my attendance in Parliament (the same being adjourned but yesterday), I have taken care to overlook your letter of the 2nd instant, and being very fully satisfied with the sum you have pitched upon ² (as I should have been with whatever more you had thought fit to have demanded), I have ordered the money to be immediately paid to your Wardens for your use, praying their receipt for the same to be endorsed upon your said letter

237 [MS p 815] S P TO MR JAMES HOUBLON ³

Wednesday morning, 10 April, 1678

All I can say to you for those folios of assistance you daily give me is, that if ever I come to leisure enough to write the history of the Navy of England, a large section of it shall be inscribed to you, made up of your own materials

I have (inspired by you, I believe) set your proposition some time since on foot at Christ's Hospital about the Children's

¹ The following note is added at the end of the letter "This enclosed to Mr Parr[e]ly with direction to him to deliver it" Mr Parrey the Clerk to the Governors is "our Clerk" mentioned in the text. Pepys had been himself appointed a Governor in 1676

² See p 314 above

³ See note on p 287 above

being bred up to draughting, and upon the fresh remembrance of it on so great an occasion, will try to introduce it among the volunteers and lieutenants in the King's fleet

The House meeting to-morrow (though with a new Speaker, I know not yet who, the old one being sick in the country¹), I am at a loss what hour to assign for waiting on you, but so earnest I am for the having the benefit of your enquiries about Toulon, that I will bespeak your looking for me at the bookseller's shop at your Exchange door to morrow about 6 a clock in the evening, before which I doubt not but the House will be up. But if this interferes with anything else of yours, pray tell me so

I have not enough thanked you for your lanthorns, of which I will return you which you like best and judge likeliest to help you in the finding out that mighty mystery the world does so grope after in open day, that shews nothing to me more obvious than (not only the certainty) but inevitableness of a war. But if faith be the evidence of things not seen, infidelity must be a non-discerning of things visible

238 [MS p 821] S P TO MR BANKS²

29 August, 1678.

DEAR SON,—A silence like this [of] mine would call for much more matter to render it excusable anywhere but between us, who (I hope) are got above the possibility of having the perseverance of our friendship suspected, and that care being over, I'll rather submit to whatever else you'll impute it to than offer at the troubling you with saying anything more in its defence that what indeed has most of truth in it, namely, that while you are abroad I would have you be as much so as I could, by keeping out of your way whatever might beget any restraints upon you, such as letters from grave home-friends can hardly keep themselves clear of, though directed to one (like you) so early fortified with virtue as to seem better fitted

¹ Sir Edward Seymour was Speaker of the House of Commons from 1673 until the dissolution of the Pension Parliament in January 1679

² See p. 306 above

for the sparing us counsel than that you should need our supplying with any hence

I would add too that, observing sometimes my Lady your mother labouring under a dearth of letters from you, I thought it less reasonable for me to make you more work. But I will not stay from telling you that in answer to yours of the 7th instant from Blois, I have all along made it my work to shew my most worthy friends your father and mother not only the importance of your travel, and of the enlargement of their first limits to it, but the encouragement they have every way met with from you to indulge you all reasonable scope in it under so great a security as they have for its being well used, I mean your own private virtue and the conduct of so excellent a friend and director as Mr Locke. In consequence whereof, I have it in commission no less from my Lady than from your father (as you will find by the enclosed) to signify unto you their consent to what you propose for your going as far as Tholouse. But further than that (it being a stint you have yourself so willingly set to) I have nor (I think) shall adventure to offer at asking any liberty for you. Not but that I do inwardly wish it were as fit to be asked as I think it might be desirable for you to have it. But truly (child), when I consider how much use one of your application will make of what you have seen, and the anxieties under which I find your poor mother daily to live on your behalf, there is a justice due to her which I think the keeping your back longer upon home would be the offering great violence to, and therefore pray set up your staff at Tholouse, and so it be but homewards, make your succeeding journeys as satisfactory to you as you please.

What I have to add should be my thanks for your many kind letters and presents, but since I cannot do you right therein without aggravating my own reproach, I'll trust your good nature for that too, and with ten thousand wishes of good to you, Remain, Your most affectionate, faithful, and humble servant

239 [MS p 823] S P TO MR LOCKE¹

29 August, 1678

The time I have taken for acknowledging the favour of yours of 26 June has wiped off a great deal of the score which you (in your generosity rather than any strictness of justice) are pleased to charge yourself with towards me, and for the remainder of the reckoning, shall with your leave turn Mr Bankes over to you for it towards the discharging of an account wherein I stand debtor to him in the same specie

This will I hope find you well arrived at Bourdeaux, to which I inclose Mr Bankes the addition of one way bit more, I mean to Tholouse and, could it have stood almost with humanity to wards my poor Lady Bankes, I would with much more pleasure have sent him a commission for a greater length, nor possibly should I have wholly forborne my offers at it, had I had any certain knowledge how you stood affected to it and Mr Bankes (more or less) solicitous for it But, I say, under my imperfectness in this, and being a daily witness of the uneasiness of my Lady's life under the apprehensions of her son's going still further from home, I do think Mr Bankes may reasonably bound his desire of travel at Tholouse, and from thence make his coming back as delightful and instructive as by your directions he can, giving his mother at length the just satisfaction of contemplating him with his face homewards

For what respects yourself, I have upon ample grounds been long your honourer, making you (with my beloved Mr Bankes) a great piece of my care

240 [MS p 819] S P TO SIR W[ILLIAM] ROYSTON,² Sheriff of London

Derby House, 17 September, 1678

Though I have never yet had the opportunity of doing aught that might entitle me to the favour I am going to ask of you, yet so far I am informed of your readiness to do all charitable

¹ See note on p. 306 above² Sir William Royston or Rawstone had been knighted as Sheriff on 19 October 1677 (Shaw ii 25.)

offices as that I cannot decline the becoming a suitor to you on the behalf of a poor kinsman of mine, once an able citizen, but brought low by God Almighty's hand in the late Fire of London His request is that by your favour he may be admitted to the Beadleship (now vacant) of the Ward whereof I understand your having this day received the honour of being elected Alderman, and in which I wish you joy My kinsman's name is Porter,¹ one of whom I doubt not your receiving a very good report from some better known to you than myself, who will join with me in my desires to you on his behalf, which I should with much more unwillingness have offered to you, did not the opinion I have of his sobriety, diligence, and integrity lead me to think him a proper subject for your kindness on this occasion . .

241 [MS p 824] S P TO MR BANKS

Derby House, 26 September, 1678

DEAR SON,—I have both your most welcome letters of the 19th and 21 instant, with the like doubled favour from my honoured friend Mr Lock, to which nevertheless, as having not yet matter for more, I beg your being at present contented with the single answer between you, namely, that your letters have met with the small misfortune of coming to me in the absence of your father from town without expectation of his return hither till to-morrow, so as I cannot give you any account of any advancement yet made with him in the task you have set me Something nevertheless I have been doing towards it, which is the making some gentle distant offers at the matter to my Lady your mother, and with so much present fruit as that, though I have not yet dared to touch the point in good earnest, your father being not yet secured, yet I am not without a good degree of hopes of giving you an answer to your satisfaction by the next For God knows

¹ Up betimes, and called upon early by my she cozen Porter the turner's wife to tell me that her husband was carried to the Tower for buying some of the King's powder and would have my helpe but I could give her none, not daring any more to appear in the business, having too much trouble lately therein (*Diary* 10 August 1665)

none can be better affected to what you desire of consummating your travel with Italy than I am and have always been, what I have wrote to you of a different tone having arisen from pure tenderness towards my poor Lady your mother Which, however, out of my perfect desire of having you satisfied and from the cogency of the considerations you have given me in favour of your pretences, I shall undertake the conflict with my Lady upon, and give you a speedy account (and I hope no unsuccessful one) of its issue In the mean time I leave you to God's protection

242 [MS p 820] S P TO CAPTAIN LANGSTON,¹ commander of the *Bristol*, at Portsmouth

27 September, 1678

It is at the importunity of a very good friend of mine and one known to yourself, Mr Cooling,² that I give you this trouble, in a matter wherein I wish myself as well able to judge what to ask, as I should be ready to ask anything wherein I might express my respect to him But to tell you the truth, I am wholly at a loss in the matter wherein he calls for my present help, which is the moving you in what I presume he will be more particular in to you by a letter from himself, to permit the bearer, a son of his, to pass his time on board you this voyage, one on whom he has bestowed a very liberal and generous education, but with so much liberty allowed or taken by him, that I find him got beyond the power of his father to confine him to any of those employments on shore for which he has qualified him, his addiction seeming to be immoveably bent to the sea, though without any better inducement (I fear) to it than the expectation of his being thereby further removed from restraint and business Insomuch that I have with the freedom of a friend given it his father as my opinion that the sending him to sea must in all likelihood prove the delivering him up to a stronger habit of liberty and idleness, without

¹ On Captain Anthony Langston see Charnock *Biographia Navalis* 1 241

² Probably Richard Cooling a Clerk of the Privy Council He is referred to several times in the *Diary* and there is a print of him in the Pepysian Library

the least hopes within my view of his being in any respect rendered better by it. However, my friend his father, not so much from his being of any better belief, but his want of knowing how to divert his son from this fancy of his to the sea, is pleased to insist upon my letter to you so far only as may signify my concurrence with his desire to you of giving him (as I have said) his bare passage with you, telling me that he will be answerable to your full satisfaction for whatever trouble or charge shall arise to you from 't. Which concurrence of mine I do therefore hereby signify to you, but withal must add that, as I am sure Mr Cooling will take care to keep this his desire on behalf of his son from becoming in any wise uneasy to you, so both on his and his son's behalf I am of opinion that his being with you ought not to be made too easy to him, as believing that his being kept to duty, diet, and accommodation in common with the rest of the ship's company will be of more use either to the reconciling him to the shore or the turning his jest into earnest by making him a real seaman (either of which would be of a welcome consequence to his father) than all the indulgence that can be shewn him, at least I should both think and proceed so were he a son of mine

243 [MS p 824] S P TO MR BANKS

Derby House, 30 September, 1678

DEAR SON,—This comes, with no less satisfaction I hope to you than it is to me, to tell you that, suitable to the hopes I expressed in mine of the 26 instant, I have, by the strength of the reasoning you helped me to and some undertakings of my own on your behalf, obtained what I hardly thought my humanity would ever have suffered me to have asked, though my judgment has always led me to wish it, from my poor Lady your mother, I mean, your great and last desire of visiting Italy. But she has shewn me an excellency I never hoped for of that kind and degree from one whose tenderness has been always so prevalent towards you, but, I say, she has shewn me that even that tenderness can be made to give

way where reason well applied shall be found to require it As appears in this case of yours wherein, though I cannot say she has yielded to our desire with much pleasure, yet she has done it with great satisfaction in the grounds of our askings, and some conditions whereinto I have taken upon me to enter for you, with great security of your enabling me to make them good they being all of them equally easy and reasonable, but such as for fear of losing the post I will not now enter upon the giving you, but leave you in possession of your wish granted, as you will find in a letter I inclose you from your father to yourself, with another to Mr Lock, giving you credit for money without limitation, both at Genova and Livorne More I dare not add, saving your delivery of my services and excuse to Mr Lock for my silence to him by this post, which shall be made up to both of you by the next

244 [MS p 827] S P TO MR BANKS, at Lyons ¹

10 October, 1678 11 at night

DEAR SON,—I have this day received yours of the 5th instant from Tholouse, and should be in very much pain did I not believe that you either have or will about the same time receive the welcomest answer you desire to it by mine of the 30th of September (sent by both the ways of address you last directed me to) intimating the success of my just solicitations for your journey into Italy, granted with an unwilling satisfaction but yet with a satisfaction of the best breed (for such I take to be what arises from conviction of judgment against the bent of affection) both from your father and my Lady the best of mothers But some conditions I was forced to enter into for you, and such as indeed you ought to see me make good, and I doubt not but you will, they being neither many nor uneasy but yet of great importance to us here, for so I know you will reckon whatever is necessary to enable

¹ Note Another to Montpellier ' Locke and his pupil never got further than Montpellier in their projected journey to Rome as they received alarming accounts of the state of the Alpine passes and accordingly returned to Paris in November (*D N B* LXXIV 30)

my Lady to live under the self-denial she has submitted to in reference to this journey of yours

One is that, if it were possible to think you could be less careful of it for your own sake, you would nevertheless for hers carry about you most strict and steady regard to your health

Next, that you omit not (wherever you are) to find means of giving her at least once a week advice of the success of that care of yours, by telling her that you are well, or the contrary in case (which God avert) of your being otherwise

The third is, that you give not way to any disposition of your journeys or proportioning of your stays in any of the places you shall visit that will not consist with your justifying one peremptory undertaking of mine, grounded upon promises no less solemn on your part and resolutions as deliberately declared on the part of my honoured friend Mr Lock, I mean your letting us see you here in the spring Which, by the account agreed on among us, is not to be strained beyond the latter end of April or beginning of May

Lastly, that you will continue to do what I persuade myself is not more your present practice than your pleasure, and what your friends here place no less of their content and security in, namely, your relying in all things upon the advice and guidance of Mr Lock, without whom (in exclusion to all the world besides) I persuade myself it had been impossible to have wrought either upon your father or mother to the point they have been prevailed upon in, nor could I have ever solicited for it with half the satisfaction wherewith I have now done it, so much of our rest concerning you is placed upon our just esteem of his conduct and your regard thereto

Which having said, I being this very night (late as it is) bound for Newmarkett, where the Court now is, I'll give you no more now, but committing you to God Almighty's protection bid you adieu till the next

[*Postscript*] I am coming again into a fresh arrear to Mr Lock, but I promise you it shall be but a short one, therefore pray keep up my credit with him in that point, and give him my most humble services

245 [MS p 828] S P TO MR JAMES HOUBLON

Wednesday morning, 31 October, 1678

I cannot let your favour of yesterday pass without this express acknowledgment of it, as also of my misfortune in not being in the way to receive it, to which I have to add the further misfortune of not having it now in my power to attend you with this myself, from the shackles which my attendance elsewhere puts upon my feet, and weights yet more grievous upon my heart, in contemplation of matters under present debate there,¹ of which I pray God send our Government once well delivered. In the mean time, I should be mighty glad of an opportunity of an hour's chat with you upon the common subject of our present griefs and fears, as a matter that calls no less now for the deliberations of all good men than it appears to have been for a long time the meditation of bad. But this I doubt must cost you another journey hitherward as affairs stand now with me, and to that end, if you will find room for so much charity as to meet me at the Court to be held at Christ's Hospital to morrow in the evening, we will from thence step, and talk and grieve together, for we shall hardly find matter for any more welcome entertainment to us at this time, unless it be that of safe gathering home again of your stragglings, which I must heartily congratulate you in, and will make it my first work of pleasure to visit, praying you in the mean time to give them all my services and blessings, and a double share to their guide,² whose hands I kiss

246 [MS p 829] S P TO MR JAMES HOUBLON

Friday, 2 November, 1678

After thanks for your last night's favour, at my coming home Monsieur Morelli³ came to me himself to desire direction

¹ The Pension Parliament had met for its last session on 21 October, while the excitement of the Popish Plot was at its height

² This may be a reference to Locke and his pupil whose return to England had already taken place or was expected shortly

³ On Cesare Morelli the musician, see J R Tanner, *Mr Pepys* p 222. James Houblon's reply to this letter describing the failure of his attempt to convert Morelli is printed in Smith 1 190 it is dated "Saturday, 2 November —probably in error for 3 November

how he should behave himself in reference to what I had troubled you for your advice in, about his obeying the proclamation Great pity it is that one so moderate as I take him to be in the business of his persuasion, and otherwise so sober and harmless, should come under any difficulties upon the account thereof, but the law ought and must be conformed to, and therefore I have taken the liberty, according to what I told you I would do at my leaving you to night, of sending him to you, intreating you that if the late instances of the villainous principles of these Jesuits will not suffice to convince him of the error of that Church and prevail with him to come over to ours, which I would to God they would, you will think of some way how, with the help towards his sustenance which I will in charity allow him, he may dispose of himself so as his relation and residence with me may be removed within the time appointed by his Majesty's proclamation I shall speedily wait on you for the result of your thoughts herein

247 [MS p 830] S P TO MR JAMES HOUBLON

4 November, 1678

This comes pursuant to the liberty you gave me by your kind letter on Saturday¹ of giving you the trouble of assisting Monsieur Morelli in the disposing of himself in obedience to his Majesty's proclamation, wherein as I am desirous to acquit myself in my duty as I ought to his Majesty's and the Parliament's commands, so I do fully concur with you in your opinion for his passing some further little time at least in England before he leaves it, upon the consideration you offer me of any misconstruction which may happen to be made if that care of mine in this matter which I chiefly aim at deserving well by,—I mean, in the readiness of my parting with one whose qualifications have rendered him the almost sole instrument of all the pleasure his Majesty's service leaves me any leisure or opportunity of enjoying, namely, his music, languages, and sobriety Pray therefore let him retire to Brentwood as you so kindly propose, from whence he may

¹ See note to the preceding letter

easily be removed in order to his getting beyond sea to his own country when it shall be judged convenient I beg you heartily to take this trouble in good part from me and doubt not your doing it, there being so much humanity and charity towards a helpless stranger concerned in it

248 [MS p 834] S P TO MRS JACKSON ¹

Derby House, 5 December, 1678

SISTER,—This comes to thank you for your letter of the 26th of November and to give my Father and you the satisfaction of knowing that I am (I bless God) in very good health, and in every other particular as well as it is possible for anyone in my place to be at a time when things seem in so ill a posture everywhere else,—I mean, with respect to the safety of his Majesty and the peace of his Government In and for both which, as all good men ought, so I in particular by many obligations cannot but be concerned with great care and an anxiety of mind, but not without hopes that God Almighty will in due time dispel our fears and establish his Majesty and People once more in security of peace and religion and the enjoyment of the blessings attending them

One misfortune there is indeed which has created me much trouble, namely, that by a most manifest contrivance one of my clerks (Atkins) has been accused and is now in custody as a party some way concerned in the death of Sir Edmundbury Godfroy ², which (though most untrue) cannot be thought to pass in the world at so jealous a time as this without some reflections upon me as his master, and on that score does

¹ MS Sister Jackson see note on p 305 above The following entry occurs between this letter and the next *Memorandum* To my Sister the 12th December desiring an account of my Father and family's health and giving them one of mine and taking notice of my having yet had no answer to that afore going

² Sir Edmund Barry Godfrey the London magistrate before whom Titus Oates had made his first depositions on oath in connexion with the alleged Plot had disappeared on 12 October and his body was found on 17 October

For an account of the proceedings against Samuel Atkins Pepys's clerk, ending in his acquittal see J. R. Tanner *Pepys and the Popish Plot* (Eglish's *Historical Review* 1892)

occasion me not a little disquiet But I thank God I have not only my innocence to satisfy myself with, but such an assurance of his also as that I make no question of his being able to acquit himself with advantage to him and infamy to his accusers, and that being done, the care which this accident occasions me will soon be over

In the mean time, pray desire my Father to give no way to any fears concerning me, for that I bless God I have lived so carefully in the discharge of my duty to the King my master and the laws I live under, both towards God and towards men, that I have not one unjust deed or thought to answer for, and consequently neither am myself, nor would pray him to be, under the least doubt or care what can befall me, it being of no use to any man in my place to think of supporting himself by any other means that has such an innocence as mine to rely on, and there, I bless God, lies my comfort, whatever befall me

Which having said, I have nothing at present to add but to pray you to continue your care of my Father all you can, and though through the muchness of my business I may fail you, pray do not you fail to let me know once a week how he and your family do So with the tenders of my most humble duty to my Father and kind love to yourself, etc, I remain,
Your most affectionate Brother

249 [MS p 836] S P TO MR TREVORS, at Chatham Yard

Derby House, 18 December, 1678

I have your letter of the 12th instant, and could not have believed the method of my proceedings in the Navy could, after near twenty years public observation, be so ill understood by any one man therein as it seems to have been by you, when you would think any offer of money or any other argument can obtain anything from me that bare virtue cannot But all the amends I shall take for the wrong you have done me in it is to let you remain under your mistake concerning, Your very loving friend

250 [MS p 837] S P TO SIR RICHARD BEACH,¹ at Chatham

Derby House, 9 January, 1678[-9]

I have received your very kind letter of the 7th instant, for which I return you my hearty thanks, for though I am one that owe most of that good fortune which people think me to live under in this world to the opportunities the envy or ignorance of one or other has sometimes given me of recommending myself in my own defence to the just opinion and favour of my Royal Master, and though such (I bless God) is my case at this day as that I think no man capable of doing me a better office than he that would charge me deepest, either in religious matters or secular, whether public or private, allowing only a fair hearing to my answer, yet I can't but take in extraordinary kind part the good office you intended me in your late conference with Sir Richard Head (whom I esteem a very honest and worthy gentleman), assuring you that the friendship you have expressed therein to me shall not want its due returns towards you whenever it shall fall within the power of, Your truly affectionate and humble servant

[*Margin*] In answer to one of Sir Richard Beach's touching a late conference between him and Sir Richard Head, a member of Parliament, wherein Sir R B gave the other an account of Mr Pepys's industry both to prevent Papists getting into the Navy and to secure the Navy against any attempts from them

251 [MS p 838] S P TO MR PEPYS,¹ at Lynn Regis, Norfolk.

Derby House, 25 January 1678[-9]

COPEN PEPYS,—I did not think I should so suddenly have had occasion of troubling you a second time in the same

¹ Rear Admiral Richard Beach had been appointed resident Commissioner of the Navy at Chatham on the death of Colonel Thomas Middleton in December 1672. Charnock (ii 52) assigns his death to c. 1683, but this letter shows that it was much earlier and I follow Le Neve. No 250 fixes it as 1675 or 1676. The name is not given in Shaw's list.

² See note on p. 253 above.

manner wherein I have already done it so largely at Castle Rising, but the King has thought fit by his proclamation this day to dissolve this Parliament and to declare his Royal purpose of summoning another (as you will find by the enclosed) to attend him upon the 6th March next. In order to which, writs (as I understand) will be sealed to the sheriffs by my Lord Chancellor this night or on Monday. Upon which occasion I must once more put myself into your hands, praying that you will do me the favour to take into your immediate care to consider what may be my properest step towards the securing (if it may be) my election again there. In order to which, I do in the first place recommend it to you to peruse and seal a letter I here enclose to the Mayor and Burgesses of the place¹, leaving it to you to deliver in such manner as you shall see fit, or to forbear the same in case you judge that more advisable.

As for any letter to the Town from my Lord Duke of Norfolk,² his Lordship happens to be at this day at Waybridge, but so as I hope to have an answer, by the messenger I sent to him this day about it, to morrow or on Monday, so as you may depend upon having all the benefit of his Lordship's interest confirmed to me by my Lord Duke to the Town the next post.

In the mean time, I shall desire your favour in making the most advantageous mention of me to our friends at Riseing, where I hope my good will in answering their desire of contributing toward their rebuilding of their Church (though I think they have not yet made use of it, and your intimations of my purpose of contributing more, which I now leave to you to enlarge upon in your discourse to them as far as you in your prudence shall think fit) will not be forgot, especially when it shall be remembered how dear an election mine proved to be, while my predecessor (as I take it) never gave anything to the public benefit of the Town though he promised it, and knew not the tenth part of my charge at his election.

The truth is, Cosen, I should very unwillingly purchase my

¹ See the next Letter

² See note on p 273 above

252 [MS p 840] S P TO THE MAYOR AND BURGESSES OF
CASTLE RISING ¹

Derby House, 25 January, 1678[-9]

This comes (in discharge of my duty to you and the rest of the gentlemen my worthy friends with you) to let you and them know that his Majesty has this day been pleased by his Royal proclamation (whereof I enclose you a copy) to dissolve the Parliament wherein by your favour I have for some time had the honour of serving you, assuring you that as I shall always esteem myself under great obligations for the favour I have already enjoyed from you, so am I most ready and desirous of continuing in the quality of your servant in the approaching Parliament, and shall endeavour to express my utmost duty and faithfulness to you therein, in case you shall in your kindness think me worthy of it

253 [MS p 841] S P TO CAPTAIN THOMAS LANGLEY,²
at Harwich

Derby House, 25 January, 1678[-9]

His Majesty having this day by his proclamation declared his pleasure that the late Parliament be dissolved and another summoned against the 6th March next, for which writs will be very suddenly issued forth, and remembering some tenders heretofore made me by yourself and others of the favour of serving for your Town as one of your Burgesses in Parliament, in case any vacancy therein had happened during my being at liberty from serving for any other place, I thought it becoming me, in gratitude to you and them, now to let you know that if upon your proposal thereof to your friends and mine there they shall think fit on this occasion to accept of my service, I am (as far as it may be without interrupting any expectations of our good friend Sir Anthony Deane³)

¹ MS "Castle-Riding" This letter is enclosed with the preceding one
² Captain Langley was master of the packet-boats at Harwich, and in 1675 had been Mayor of the town (*Admiralty Letters*, Nos 2035 and 2568)
³ Deane had been knighted on 3 July, 1675 on the occasion of the King's visit to Portsmouth (*Admiralty Letters*, No 2401)

Duke recommended to join with the Governor¹ for your choice

And besides my duty in submitting to what the King and Duke appoint, which I shall always most readily do, you and your whole Town will be easily and amply convinced that you cannot elect a more worthy and useful a gentleman

And in particular, pray shew your zeal to the forwarding this good work, which will be acceptable to the King, a service to your town, and obligation upon, Your most affectionate brother and servant

255 [MS p 844] S P TO THE CORPORATION OF PORTSMOUTH

29 January, 1678[-9]

There being now, by the dissolution of the late Parliament and declaration of his Majesty's Royal purpose of summoning a new one, an occasion before you of coming to a fresh election of Members for your Corporation, I hold it my duty to make you an humble offer of my service therein, both from the relation I have long had the honour of to your body as a Freeman and many other instances of respect you have been pleased to shew me, as also from the hopes my present station gives me of being found in some degree qualified for the serving you, assuring you that if I shall be deemed worthy your commands and favour on this occasion, I will use all endeavours of acquitting myself towards you therein with that diligence, duty, and faithfulness which becomes, Your most affectionate, humble, and bounden servant.

256 [MS p 845] S P TO SIR JOHN KEMPTHORNE,² at
Portsmouth

Derby House, 29 January, 1678[-9]

This comes to you upon occasion of the approaching election of Members for serving the Town of Portsmouth in Parliament,

¹ The Lieutenant-Governor of Portsmouth was Colonel George Legge, afterwards Lord Dartmouth

² On Sir John Kempthorne, see *D.N.B.* xxx. 397 In 1675, when Sir Anthony Deane became Comptroller of Victualling Kempthorne had succeeded him as resident Commissioner of the Navy at Portsmouth

wherein I am led by divers motives to offer them my services, and do it by the enclosed ¹ to the Magistracy of the said Town, which I choose to make use of your hand for the conveyance of from the confidence I have, not only in your readiness to do me that personal office of kindness but to make known and recommend my desires (in concurrence with the Governor's) therein to all our friends of the Navy interested in the election, from whom I will endeavour to deserve whatever instance of their respect I shall be thought worthy of receiving from them consistent with the trust they owe to their Corporation, upon which terms alone it is that I shall look for any from them. Adding further (with respect to yourself) that albeit what I am doing herein has not only the approval but command of his Majesty and Royal Highness, with the full satisfaction also of your and my worthy friend Colonel Legge, yet if you in your particular have any desire of interesting yourself at Portsmouth on this occasion, I shall with all readiness either resign to his Majesty my whole pretensions thereto or set on work the best of my interest for the making a provision for you in another place

257 [MS p 846] S P TO CAPTAIN LANGLEY, at Harwich

30 *January*, 1678[-9]

I know not how enough to thank you for your letter of the 28th instant, and the extraordinary proofs I meet with therein of your good opinion and kindness to me. This only I shall assure you, that I will never fail to express the esteem I have of the respect you tell me the Town of Harwich is pleased with so much unanimity to design me, but will make it my endeavour to deserve it by all the good offices I shall ever be able to do them

And for the particular kindness you invite me to, you will when I come to Harwich find me forward enough to give you trouble, and in the mean time pray be assured that I will never be unmindful of the kindness I receive from you on this

¹ The preceding letter

occasion, but be always ready to shew myself, Your grateful friend and servant

258 [MS p 848] S P TO CAPTAIN ELLIOT, at Alborough

30 *January*, 1678[-9]

Being very well assured of your great affection to his Majesty's service no less than to the welfare of the Corporation whereof you are so considerable a member, I cannot suspect your taking ill my becoming a recommender of two worthy gentlemen, both well known to yourself, who I understand do design to make an humble offer of their service to the Town of Alborough for their Burgesses in the approaching Parliament, concerning whose fitness for which trust (by their great experience and interest in the navigation of the realm), and consequently their more than ordinary capacities of being truly useful both to the public and you, I cannot think your knowledge of them needs any information of mine, as being so universally known to whoever have the least relation to the sea, I mean Sir Richard Haddock and Mr Johnson of Blackwall. This only I shall take leave to say, in order to your more particular satisfaction, that as I can assure you that what kindness you shall express to these gentlemen upon this occasion will be greatly acceptable both to his Majesty and Royal Highness (it being by their authority I take upon me to say it), so may you expect to have the same acknowledged by them to your benefit

259 [MS p 849] S P TO SIR ANTHONY DEANE

Friday, 4 *afternoon*, 31 *January*, 1678[-9]

I give you many thanks for not only your kindness but prudence in dispatching to me what I mentioned last night, it serving me very seasonably to vindicate my preferring Harwich to Portsmouth, which the Duke has been speaking with me about, and truly the kindness of the place (I mean, Harwich) makes it but just I should do so, and I will. But I would be

mightily glad to be able to do it so as might make me capable of transferring Portsmouth to my Lord Brouncker,¹ and that is all the care I have now upon me in this matter About which, and what relates to our journey to Harwich, I will come to your end of the town this afternoon, as soon as I have put in a memorial to the Council Board by and by about the victualling declaration Therefore if you cannot be at home, pray leave word where you will be found

260 [MS p 850] S P TO SIR ROBERT HOLMES,² at Carisbrooke Castle, at the post house, Southampton

1 February, 1678[-9]

I have understood from my worthy friend your brother how much your generosity can oblige one that has been so little in the way of deserving it as I

The truth is, as your kindness therein is very surprising so is it rendered much the more valuable from the little advantage which a man's pretensions at this juncture meet with from his Court-dependence, an objection which I understand is likely to prove very hard to be got over by some acquaintance of yours and mine, and I know not how it may prove in my own case Under which uncertainty the resort you have been pleased thus seasonably to provide for me is matter of great pleasure to me, and therefore make it my request you will continue your favour in it by respiting the election till I can inform you of the issue of my expectations at Harwich and Portsmouth, which I hope I may do by the latter end of the next week, and that they will be such as may put you into a capacity of conferring this kindness of yours upon somebody more worthy of it, and yet leave an obligation upon me never to be enough acknowledged by, Your most faithful and most humble servant

Postscript Not knowing where Sir John is, I lodge my

¹ Brouncker's peerage was an Irish one, and he was therefore eligible for election to the House of Commons

² Sir Robert Holmes, Sir John Holmes's elder brother was Governor of the Isle of Wight Both brothers are mentioned in the *Diary*

service to him with you, his letter coming not time enough to my hand for my writing to you by Thursday's post, by which I became prevented in telling you then that the writ for Hampshire was dispatched to the sheriff that day

261 [MS p 851] S P TO MR SHALES, Mayor of Portsmouth
1 February, 1678[-9]

I pay you my very hearty thanks for your letter of yesterday, assuring you that my acceptance of your kindness shall not depend upon the success of it. Therefore pray be under no pain in reference to that part you are acting for me, for so well I love the Town of Portsmouth as not to grudge their bestowing their favour upon anyone that they shall think better qualified for their service than myself, nor doubt I but such they may have before them. This only I shall say, that if upon their debates and conference with the Governor, they shall hold me worthy a place in the choice they are going to make of their Burgesses in Parliament, I shall esteem it an honour, as being a special mark of their favour to and good opinion of me, and will endeavour to repay it by all the services, both in and out of Parliament, that shall come within my power of doing them. Which, with the tenders of my most faithful respects to yourself and all my worthy friends with you, is all at present from, Your affectionate and humble servant

262 [MS p 852] S P TO SIR JOHN KEMPTHORNE, at Portsmouth
1 February, 1678[-9]

I return you my very faithful thanks for your letter of yesterday, assuring you that what I lately wrote you about my serving the Town of Portsmouth in Parliament was grounded principally upon an opinion that my present station might (as well as my desires are that it should) render me in a particular manner capable of serving them. And upon other terms than these I would by no means have my name

give trouble either to them or to any worthy gentleman whom they shall have reason to think better qualified for it, or yourself in particular in case (as I said in my last) you have any inclination to it I therefore entirely submit myself to what the Corporation shall judge most for their benefit, I being bound by oath as a Freeman to do so, and yet shall be no less sensible of the honour they do me in it in case they shall think me worthy of their service on this occasion

263 [MS p 853] S P TO MR THOMAS PEPYS,¹ Lynn Regis,
Norfolk

1 February, 1678[-9]

GOOD COSEN,—I do kindly thank you for your letter of yesterday, assuring you that I am not surprised, much less under any disappointment, from the contents of it, I knowing the world too well to expect more than is to be found in it, and I think mine to you did enough shew that what I asked was rather out of respect to the Town of Riseing (as having once been their servant) than from any such advantage I proposed to myself by it as would suffer me to give way to your entering upon any expense for it, I having the good fortune of being so much better understood elsewhere as to have at this time invitations from the Magistracy of no less than three several Corporations (of somewhat greater names,² though not more in my esteem than that of theirs) to accept of their elections Therefore pray be under no further care on my behalf in this matter, the satisfaction of having discharged my duty to the gentlemen of Castle Riseing being all I aim at, without troubling myself to reflect upon any forgetfulness on their parts towards me As for those two worthy persons who now stand for their favour, I mean Sir Robert Howard and Sir John Baber, they are both my honoured friends, and as far as any interest of mine may bestead them I do readily resign it to them

¹ See note on p 283 above This letter is printed in Braybrooke, iv 209 but as it is one of a series it also appears here

² Harwich Portsmouth and one of the Isle of Wight boroughs offered him by its patron Sir Robert Holmes

And for the kindness I have received on this occasion from yourself, I shall always most thankfully own it by whatever testimony thereof I may be able to give by suitable services to you and your family

264 [MS p 855] S P TO SIR JOHN WERDEN ¹

Harwich, 5 February, 1678[-9]

I have just now yours of the 3rd current, and pray you to let his Royal Highness know that I did before my leaving the town (viz, by Saturday's post last) send to my correspondent at Castle Riseing not only my direction to forbear any further interesting himself on my behalf there, but to resign up all that I had to dispose of to Sir John Baber ² and Sir Robert Howard ³ against whoever else should stand, though by a letter this day come to my hand I find they have (between them) done all they could to revive all my old charge of being a Papist, and the new one of having a hand in the late Plot. However (I say) this I have done, and have it not now in my power to do more, which otherwise I should, in particular favour to Sir John Baber, my only correspondent (who is my kinsman and a lawyer) being ere this come away thence, and will be in London to morrow or Friday to attend his business at the Term, so that all that I think remains possible to be done is to get my Lord of Arundell ⁴ to determine which of the two, Sir John Baber or Sir Robert Howard, shall have the benefit of his interest in case one only of them can carry it

¹ On Sir John Werden or Worden, see *DNB* 1 v. 295. He had been secretary to the Duke of York when he was Lord High Admiral, but in 1673, when Pepys became Secretary of the Admiralty, he was appointed a Commissioner of the Navy as compensation for his displacement (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS* 1. 40).

² Physician to Charles II.

³ Sir Robert Howard the dramatist was returned as a member for Castle Rising at the election of 1679.

⁴ Henry Howard, the son of the 6th Duke of Norfolk, was styled Earl of Arundel after his father's succession to the Dukedom in 1677. In 1684 he succeeded as 7th Duke.

265 [MS p 855] S P TO SIR JOHN HOLMES ¹

Harwich, 5 February, 1678[-9]

Your most obliging letter of the 1st instant from Yarmouth found me too late for my returning answer by the last post, which now I do by telling you that Sir Anthony Deane's and my election here is this day over with all the satisfaction possible, so as I am now in condition to resign to Sir Robert Holmes ² and you the favour he had so generously prepared for me and may now be again in his hand to confer on somebody that may have had the good fortune to merit it more than I have ever had either from him or you, and such I am sure there are a great many, though I do assure you, and pray you to do it from me to Sir Robert, that I value this kindness of his and yours in such a manner as that I shall think myself for ever bound to answer it by all the ways of gratitude and service that shall ever fall within the power of his and your most obliged and most humble servant

Postscript Some account I should give you of my name's being up at Portsmouth for a Burgess there, but I shall respite that to my getting back to town, which will be on Saturday, this only for the present I tell you (for your particular information only) that I am under a firm determination to stand for Harwich, however I be chosen at Portsmouth or elsewhere, but this I do not yet publish

266 [MS p 858] S P TO COLONEL LEGGE,² at Portsmouth

Derby House, 10 February, 1678[-9]

I am much in arrear to you for the several kind letters I met with from you at my return from Harwich late on Saturday night last, when I also at the same time received advice of your being expected from Portsmouth the day following or to day Which finding, by another just now received of the

¹ See note on p 338 *above* c

² See note on p 30- *above*, and *D N B*, *xxiii* 408

gth, to have been a mistake, I send this, as the only amends I can make for it, by express, to let you know that having by the King's and Duke's express command pursued my pretences at Harwich by a journey thither with Sir Anthony Deane, with all the success of a free, speedy, and almost chargeless election, I attended his Royal Highness yesterday morning with an account of it, and the obligations which I lie (in gratitude) under of abiding by that election. And thereupon asking his directions in reference to the disposing of my expectations at Portsmouth in such manner as might be most to your satisfaction and the King's service, he was pleased to respite the coming to any determination therein till your being in town, which he also seemed to expect this day, so as I was in hopes 'ere this to have restored with a thousand thanks into your own hand the kindness you are managing for me there, and not without hopes also that Colonel Norton having declared to stand for the country¹ you might have found your satisfaction in picking yourself a partner out of the Office of the Navy. But I have been surprised this day by the King with an account of a disappointment which a certain Minister of State has or is in great danger of meeting with in his own country, and must therefore indispensably be otherwise provided for, namely, the Chancellor of the Exchequer,² giving me his command to intimate the same to you, which I now do with the concurrent direction of his Royal Highness (who continues in his expectation of sudden seeing you in town), though for a person of so much worth, and one to whom I bear so particular a degree of respect, I would to God I could do it with less dissatisfaction than I do when I consider how many disappointments I may be said to have on this occasion already given to my friends Sir John Tippetts,³

¹ I.e. for the county (of Hampshire). This may be the Colonel Norton referred to in Evelyn's *Diary* (17 September, 1685). I had twice before been at Portsmouth the Isle of Wight, etc., many years since. I found this part of Hampshire bravely wooded, especially about the house and estate of Colonel Norton, who though now in being, having formerly made his peace by means of Colonel Legge, was formerly a very fierce commander in the first Rebellion. His house is large, and standing low, on the road from Winchester to Portsmouth."

² Sir John Ernle, he was also one of the Admiralty Commissioners.

³ See note on p. 270 above.

Sir Roger Manly,¹ Captain Shales,² Mr Mayor of Portsmouth,³ and (most of all) to yourself, without being able to leave any of them in as good a condition (at least of interest) as I found them. But I do fully hope you will be able before the 24th of this month to cast this matter about so as may render it more easy than I fear it will at first dash be received by you, I not yet knowing the condition Sir John Ernle is really in of needing this help the King designs him, or where he at present is, nor shall I think it becoming me to interpose myself further in this matter (unless I be called to it again from the King) until I either see or hear from you, which I pray let me speedily do, and be assured of my remaining as well under great disquiet for the trouble which my being prevented at Castle Rising (you know by what hand) has occasioned you, as under the lasting obligations which your kindness (both active and passive) to me in this affair has laid upon, Your most affectionate and most humble servant

267 [MS p 861] S P TO SIR JOHN KEMPTHORNE³

Derby House, 13 February, 1678[-9]

I should be extremely sorry if the contents hereof should occasion you any trouble, and doubt not your believing me in saying so when you shall call to mind the readiness wherewith I surrendered all my own pretensions to yours in the business I now write about, namely, the election at Portsmouth. But his Majesty being greatly concerned in the securing a place in Parliament for Sir John Ernle, the Chancellor of the Exchequer,¹ and not knowing where he may depend upon meeting more certain success in it than at Portsmouth, Colonel Legg (as his Majesty's Governor there) claiming to have the entire disposal of the place upon my being otherwise provided for, and telling me that it is out of a particular regard to you that he has not offered it to the Master of the Ordnance,⁵

¹ On Sir Roger Manley see *D.N.B.*, *xxxvi* 38. He was Governor of Landguard Fort at Harwich.

³ See note on p 335 above.

⁵ On Sir Thomas Chicheley the Master-General of the Ordnance, see *D.N.B.* *v.* 231. He was also an Admiralty Commissioner.

² See note on p 334 above.

⁴ See note on p 343 above.

his Majesty has commanded me to let you know in his name that it is his pleasure you should decline standing for Burgess for the place yourself, and assist Sir John Ernle all that is possible for the compassing thereof for him, as you will find by an enclosed copy of my Lord Treasurer's letter to Colonel Legg, to whose original in his hand I refer you, adding only that his Majesty does not do this with the least purpose of disrespect to you, or distrust of your good will and ability to serve him in Parliament, but from the importance of his having Sir John Ernle there, and his want of any other means of securing it. Besides that the nature of the employment wherein you serve his Majesty in the Navy will less bear with your absence from Portsmouth, and that Sir John Ernle's trust as one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty entitles him to an equal concernment in all matters relating to the Navy. Which having said without any other consideration than in direct obedience to his Majesty's command, Sir John Ernle being out of town, and wholly unacquainted with the care his Majesty and my Lord Treasurer are at this present under in reference hereto, I leave the whole matter to Colonel Legg's and your management and solicitations.

268 [MS p 863] S P TO COLONEL LEGGE, at Portsmouth

Derby House, 13 February, 1678[-9], in the morning

Had my late mention of that worthy gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer sprung (as you, notwithstanding what I said to the contrary, seem to suggest) from any motions of mine, and been built upon any presumptions, opinion, or pretence of any personal interest of mine in the Town of Portsmouth, or had I failed to express sufficiently to you my professions of the contrary, not only in my letters to that Corporation in general and to the Mayor thereof and Sir John Kempthorne in particular, but by my engaging both his Majesty and Royal Highness for the obtaining of yours in advantage to it, I could with much more ease have sat down with the return you give me by your express of the 12th to

mine of the 20th instant, and the terms you think fit to treat me with therein, than I must acknowledge I can now do, not that I shall, notwithstanding that, give you or myself any further trouble at present in answer thereto than in observing to you that whatever inequality you may fashion yourself between your interest and mine in Portsmouth, I think we owe them both equally to the credit derived to us from his Majesty, and that were it fit for us (who ought therefore to value ourselves no otherwise than upon that level, and improve the same mutually as it may best be to the advancing his service to whose favour we both owe it) I say, were it fit for us to contend about superiority of interest, that of the Navy (however you may think yourself secure of the contrary) will, I doubt not, whenever another election shall come, be found to stand upon the higher ground to that of the garrison, if that Corporation go by the same measures of profit in the disposing of their favours which other no less wise bodies do. Which plainness of mine I pray you to take in good part from me, as being one who profess myself better able to bear with the usages I meet with from an ingenuous enemy than from a capricious friend, my late submitting to an acceptance of this favour from Portsmouth, as obtained by your assistance, arising not from any want of other ways enough of getting into the Parliament, as appears by the method of Sir Anthony Deane's and my being chosen at Harwich, with an unanimity and excess of courtesy hardly to be equalled in the case of two (both ¹ of Court dependence) within the whole kingdom, but from an inclination (God's my witness) to the receiving an obligation from the Governor of Portsmouth in some degree suitable to what was, without my asking, knowledge, or deserving, most generously laid on me by the Governor of the Isle of Wight, I say, "but in some degree suitable," he having done it solely without any assistance, whereas you found it necessary to desire that of Captain Shales's letters to his brother for the enabling you to do what you now appear so unwilling should have been done. But I own myself fully satisfied in it and instructed by it, and shall therefore give

¹ MS ' of both

neither you nor myself the occasion of wasting any more thoughts on that part of this matter which respects myself, but go on to what I am sure (as before) we ought and (I doubt not) shall be always found of one mind in, namely, the obeying of his Majesty's commands and promoting of his service, which seems in the utmost degree concerned in the making provision for Sir John Ernle's having a place in Parliament.¹ Concerning which, having, according to my duty and your intentions, communicated to his Majesty the substance of this your letter, he is pleased, for your fuller satisfaction in the truth of what I lately wrote you, to signify his mind to you by the inclosed under my Lord Treasurer's own hand,² as he does by mine to Sir John Kempthorne for his submitting his private pretensions on this occasion to the necessities of his Majesty's public service. Which, that it may suffer no impediment on your part from the imagination you have of its being a projection of mine in favour of Mr Chancellor (though I am sorry that should come to be an impediment to it), I can assure you he is neither in town to desire it of me nor to this moment knows anything of what is doing in it, and therefore it will be no disappointment to me if after having discharged my duty to the King's commands you shall think fit to let him want the effects of that absolute disposal you so plainly have at this time of the Corporation's choice. Which, besides what is due to those commands of the King, cannot (I think) be applied to a gentleman of more personal worth than Sir John Ernle, nor more apt to reconcile all the interests now before you, namely, the land part of it by virtue of his Chancellorship and the sea by that of his late influence in the Navy and present one in the Admiralty.

[ENCLOSURE]

Copy of my Lord Treasurer's Letter ³

London, 13 February, 1678-9

Mr Pepys being returned to town, his Majesty has commanded him to do all he can for the election of Sir John Ernle

¹ See note on p. 343 above

Printed in Braybrooke, IV 210

² See below

at Portsmouth, and hearing that Sir John Kempthorne designs to stand, the King has enjoined Mr Pepys to let him know in his name that he would have him to decline it himself and to assist Mr Chancellor, who is like to be so necessary to his Majesty this Parliament that he cannot want his service in the House. As he has laid his commands himself upon Mr Pepys in this matter, so his Majesty has ordered me to signify this his pleasure to you, and to let you know that his service is so much concerned in it that he would have you leave nothing undone that is in your power for the obtaining that election for him. I have already assigned Captain Kingdome two months' pay for all the new forces not yet disbanded, and hope 'ere long to be able to do more. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,—DANBY

269 [MS p 863] S P TO COLONEL LEGGE,¹ Portsmouth

13 February, 1678[–9], at night

Since I wrote you this day by express, his Royal Highness being then abroad a hunting, I have had opportunity to attend him with an account of yours to me this morning and mine since to you with his Majesty's and my Lord Treasurer's commands touching Sir John Ernle, who I now understand from his Highness is in town and has spoken to his Royal Highness concerning this matter, and received for answer what by the Duke's command I have now to acquaint you with, which is, that Colonel Norton having, as you write, finally declined standing for the Town, resolving to apply himself for Knight of the Shire, his Royal Highness does think it of great moment to his Majesty that Sir John Ernle be provided for, and that therefore all endeavours be used, by Sir John Kempthorne's declining it and otherwise, that Sir John Ernle be chosen in company with you for that place

¹ Printed in Braybrooke iv 209

270 [MS p 868] S P TO SIR JOHN KEMP THORNE, at
Portsmouth

Derby House, 15 February, 1678[-9]

Your express of yesterday came to my hand this morning while waiting upon his Majesty, to whom I immediately communicated the same, whose resentment ¹ thereof I having no commission to report to you, shall not take upon me the doing, no more than I did the signifying his late pleasure to you, without the authority of my Lord Treasurer's hand for my voucher Which how far you have or have not complied with is now past the use of my enquiry, the election being, I presume, over, and that the next post will give it us Which if it be for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, you will have done a thing very decent and acceptable to his Majesty, if for yourself, it neither ought nor (I assure you) shall be at all unwelcome to me

271 [MS p 869] S P TO COLONEL LEGGE

Derby House, 15 February, 1678[-9]

If mine to you of the 13th lost no more time in its passage than yours of the same date did to me, you will have found me nowise behindhand with you in the plainness of my style, nor shall, I hope, in aught else that may bespeak the sincerity of my whole behaviour towards you in the matter of our present difference, his Majesty, the Duke, and my Lord Treasurer being all witnesses how little Sir John Ernle is owing to me for what by their commands I have been concerned for him therein And referring myself to them in appeal for what is past, I doubt not but we are each of us sufficiently cautioned against giving ourselves the disquiet of any like unnecessary conversations for the time to come, my friendship being (I must confess) of too simple and uninterested a breed to receive any content from a mixture with one so uneasy and suspicious as yours Not but that where either his

¹ See note on p 144 above

Majesty's service or his Royal Highness's shall require it, or where in my little condition I may have opportunity of expressing any fitting respect to yourself, I shall be always ready to do what becomes, Your faithful and humble servant

272 [MS p 878] S P TO CAPTAIN LANGLEY,¹ Harwich

Derby House, 6 March, 1678[-9]

Your late journey into Suffolk for the assisting of Mr Allin's election, and mine into Kent upon a like occasion, has prevented my earlier acknowledging to you both the kindnesses I received from you when I was at Harwich and the letters you have sent me since my return thence. For the former of which, as well those which concerned my election in general as what respect you shewed me in your particular house, I return both you and Mrs Langly my most hearty thanks, assuring you of my taking all occasions of answering the same by whatever service I shall be able to do you and your family, nor shall be less solicitous to acquit myself as I ought to do to the whole body of the Corporation of Harwich and every member of it in return for the extraordinary expressions of their good will which I have so lately received the benefit of from them. And this I intreat you to communicate, with my most humble services, to Mr Mayor and the rest of my worthy friends the gentlemen of the Town, as you shall have opportunity for it.

For what you write touching the discourses you have met with in your neighbourhood about the election Harwich has made in their choice of Sir Anthony Deane and me, as if he were an Atheist and myself a Papist, I take the suggestions which any shall make of that kind to be so foolish as well as malicious that I shall not give myself the trouble to say or you to read more in answer thereto than this, viz, that as to Sir A Deane, whoever knows him as well as our friends of Harwich and I do knows that he has too much wit to be an

¹ See note on p 333 above

Atheist, it being the fool only that Solomon¹ tells us says in his heart, There is no God And as for my being a Papist, let them examine but the entries in our Parliament books, upon occasion of a controversy some time since happening between a great Lord and myself upon that subject, and they shall find such a trial and proof of my Protestancy as I doubt no private man in England can shew but myself upon record in Parliament² And this (I say) is all I shall think now necessary to urge between you and I in defence of my partner and myself and justification of Harwich's choice of us for their servants But if you do in the least apprehend that what has been said on this occasion to our prejudice has made any impressions upon any other of our friends in the Corporation, to the shaking them in the good opinions they had conceived of us in this particular of religion as well as in other things, I do hold it a point so considerable that though we are already possessed of the benefit of the Corporation's kindness in their choice of us, yet I am of opinion, and believe Sir Anthony Deane will be of the same mind with me, that we ought to be as much concerned for the giving the Corporation satisfaction therein now, as we should have done had the doubt been raised before our election, and therefore I intreat you in your next to be very open with me whether you think there be any in the whole number of our electors, from Mr Mayor downwards, who has the least scruple remaining with him touching our devotion towards God Almighty, for if so, I shall (in the absence of Sir Anthony Deane) undertake for both that we will remove it by such evidences of our faith and doctrine, conformable to the true Protestant doctrine and worship of the Church of England, as shall leave no ground for any Corporation in England (upon comparing elections with respect to religion) to reproach Harwich with the choice of her Burgesses

* * * * *

¹ It was David—in the 53rd Psalm

² This refers to the accusation brought against Pepys by the Earl of Shaftesbury and his vindication in Parliament in 1674 see Wheatley's edition of the *Diary*, vol 1 pp xxxi-xxxiv

further trouble to you of doubling down for me that Dialogue in Lucian which this letter relates to, though the dimensions of the ship here quoted seems so extravagant that I am afraid Lucian's authority (who, as I take it, was no seaman) will hardly suffice to give them any credit with me. However, I would be glad to see what he says of the matter

274 [MS p 883] S P TO MR THOMAS PEPYS,¹ at
Lynn Regis

Derby House, 15 March, 1678-9

GOOD COUZEN,—I have received yours of the 12 instant, for which and your many other kindnesses I pay you my very hearty thanks

For what you mention of the applications made to you from the Town of Castle Rising for your payment of the 50*l* I so long since put into your hands in order to its being employed (with what they then told me of their like expectations from my Lord Marshal² and Sir John Trevor³) towards the rebuilding of their Church, I neither do nor should (were it twice as much) begrudge it them for so religious a work. But since they have thought fit to lose so much time as they have already done in the making use of it, they must give me leave to put them to the sparing of a little more, till (I mean) they have done what (without any such provocation) I might long since have expected from them, namely, their giving me some answer to my letter of the 25 January last,⁴ the charge of my former election, with their promise of making me amends for it at their next, rendering it (as I think) very reasonable that (whatever their later obligations elsewhere may have been) they should at least have given me some present answer thereto, though it had been of refusal, for even their refusal, expressed with any kind of respect, had been to me every

¹ See note on p 283 above

² See note on p 273 above

³ On Sir John Trevor afterwards Master of the Rolls and Speaker of the House of Commons, see *DNB* lvi 222. He had been M.P. for Castle Rising from 1673 until the dissolution of the Pension Parliament

⁴ Letter No 252 (p 333 above)

whit as welcome at this time, or more, than an acceptance, forasmuch as an election with them (where there was to be a competition) would not have been so little chargeable to me as the dearest of those I had the refusal of in several other places of greater note. But instead of any such answer, or any answer at all from them, to find them arraigning me afresh of being a Papist and I know not what, is a usage which I cannot but resent, and therefore though I have it not at all in my present purpose to recall the kindness I designed them, but could (I thank God) be sooner disposed to enlarge it on so pious an occasion, yet I would have them to understand that I cannot readily give way to my being denied civility from such as depend upon my bounty, especially while I find them giving over their expectations of that from Sir John Trever which introduced (after my election) their bespeaking of mine, and that in a case, too, where the favour he received from them cost not him 60*l* which (you know) stood me in above 600*l*. Pray therefore let them go to work as soon as they will upon the contributions given them by their new Burgesses, and leave me to the choice of my own time for the ordering out of mine when I shall have received the satisfaction which I cannot without wrong to myself forbear the expecting from them in that point, and till then 'tis my desire and direction you continue my money in your own possession. Which, with the tenders of my most faithful services to my couzens your Lady and daughter, is all at present from, Your very affectionate kinsman and humble servant

275 [MS p 887] S P to MR CONY,¹ at Chatham

Derby House, 20 March, 1678-9

* * * * *

As for your medicine,² the bottles are not yet broached, the lady on whose behalf I solicited you for them having hitherto

¹ This must be "Mr Concy the surgeon," whom Pepys had met on a visit to Chatham just ten years before (*Diary*, 24 March, 1668-9)

² This is referred to elsewhere in the letter as a medicine for the ague

contented herself with the respites from her fits which her ordinary doses of the Jesuits' powder have successively given her, but is now so far wearied out with the frequent returns of those fits that she is resolved upon the very next to apply herself to your medicine, which she expects may fall out within a day or two, and I hope may prove successful, in case the keeping your bottles thus long before their being employed prejudice them not in their operation, whereof I should be glad to have a word from you by your next

* * * * *

276 [MS p 890] EXTRACT OF S P'S LETTER TO THE
OFFICERS OF THE NAVY, dated 12 April, 1679

I do take extraordinary notice of what you observe to me in your letter of the 4th instant touching the want of a new system of General Instructions for the officers of the Navy suitable to what they now are, after the many alterations and improvements made therein since his Majesty's Restoration through the mighty growth of our naval action within that time, it being a work that I have for several years past observed a most apparent want of, with purpose of putting my own hand to the doing of it as soon as my leisure (if ever) would permit it, as thinking it a task not only calling for great labour, consideration, and time from whoever will go about it, but much more (if it be at all to be hoped for) from one that has not been, by the constancy of his employment thorough the whole tract of time, present successively at the resolutions, if not privy to the occasions, debates, and grounds of every of the said resolutions taken and improvements made therein. But that leisure (as you are good witnesses of) has not yet occurred, nor can I, I must acknowledge, foresee when I may expect it without a total recess from my present employment. But the duties of the officers of the Navy are, by this diversity of partial alterations and settlements therein, become so intricate and hard to be understood, and the inconveniencies arising therefrom so many and great from the ignorance of

officers in their own duties and aptness thereby to be interfering with other men's, that as I promise you to make good my aforementioned purpose of charging myself with the remedying thereof by digesting one new entire body of Instructions, from what relates to the Admiral himself downwards to the lowest officer of the Navy at sea and on shore, whenever it shall be my fortune (be it on what terms it will) to have time and vacancy of thoughts for it, so if you incline to the thinking it of more use to his Majesty (wherein I should very easily concur with you) that some proper person should be presently set to work upon it while several of your number are, with myself, in being who, by our continued relation in one capacity or other to the business of the Navy, are qualified for giving him assistance therein, beyond what can at any time hereafter be reasonably looked for from gentlemen of later observation who shall succeed us, I shall most willingly join with you in recommending the promotion of this so necessary a work to his Majesty and my Lords of the Admiralty, and the providing a fair encouragement for him (whoever he is) that shall be thought best fitted for the undertaking it

277 [MS p 89I] EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR PEPYS
TO SIR JOHN HOLMES, dated the 15th April, 1679

Extremely glad I am of the good character you give me of Captain Terrill,¹ commander of the *Drake*, and though this occasion which you propose of doing him kindness may not succeed, I will make it my endeavour that his long patience and modesty may be rewarded For however I have of late come to understand (now all mouths as well as ears are open) how much Mr Legg,² Captain Russell,³ Captain Priestman,⁴ and some others of their intimacy, do take a liberty not only of censuring me but uttering no small menaces against me

¹ Captain John Tyrrell

² See the correspondence with Colonel George Legge over the Portsmouth election (pp 342-50 above)

³ Captain Edward Russell afterwards Earl of Orford

⁴ Captain Henry Preistman

as an enemy to gentleman captains, from my endeavours of acquitting myself in my friendship to them as well as duty to the King, by restraining that neglect and contempt of the necessary discipline of the Navy which I find them prone to, in absenting themselves, without leave or limitation, from their charges and otherwise, to the scandal and ruin of the King's service, while at the same time (which seems not a little ridiculous) it was no longer ago than yesterday reckoned up in the House of Commons by my friend Colonel Birch¹ as one of the present miscarriages of the Navy, for which among others a particular account is expected from me by the House on Thursday next, by a particular list to be presented then of the names and quality of every commander in the fleet, that employments and favour are now bestowed wholly upon gentlemen, to the great discouragement of tarpawlings of Wapping² and Blackwall, from whence (to use his own words) the good commanders of old were all used to be chosen, yet so much have I always endeavoured to encourage a gentleman who earlily applies himself with that true industry, plainness, and modesty wherewith I take Captain Tyrrell to have done it, that I have upon no occasion omitted both my advice when present and my little interest in their absence to do them all the good offices I have been able, and being thus confirmed by you in my former private observation of Mr Tyrrell, will labour to give him the best and earliest proof I can of my good will to him on that account

278 [MS p 892] EXTRACT OF ANOTHER LETTER FROM MR PEPYS TO SIR JOHN HOLMES, dated 18 April, 1679

The work whereof I gave you an account in my last of the 15th instant,³ and which has made me very busy, has been the prevention of my writing to you the 2 last posts, which now I

¹ On Colonel John Birch see *D N B*, v 62. He was member for Penrhyn from 1671 to 1678, and after that for Weobly, near Leominster. There are several references to him in the *Diary*.

² MS "Wapping". The question of gentlemen and tarpaulin commanders is discussed in *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS*, i 200.

³ The preceding letter

supply by acknowledging my receipt of yours of the 15, 16, and 17 instant In answer whereto I shall, in the first place, take care to move his Majesty and my Lords that some provision may be speedily made for the answering the wants of the sick and wounded at Deal¹ But I protest to you the case of the Navy thorough² want of money is on every hand grown so heavy, and out of all hopes (within my view) of any speedy remedy, and (which is worse) the ill effects of that want in all the consequences thereof imputed to us in Parliament, whose lives have been little better than a constant state of persecution upon the score of our complaints and solicitations for money out of Parliament, that were the encouragements of my employment ten-fold what they are or what the world takes them to be, they should not invite me to hold it one year more upon the terms I have now done it for several, unless his Majesty's express commands require it from me, which with bread and water shall render everything sufferable to me, but without that, nothing

¹ This he did on the following day, see *Admiralty Journal* p 661

² In the 17th century the words 'thorough' and 'through' were interchangeable

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